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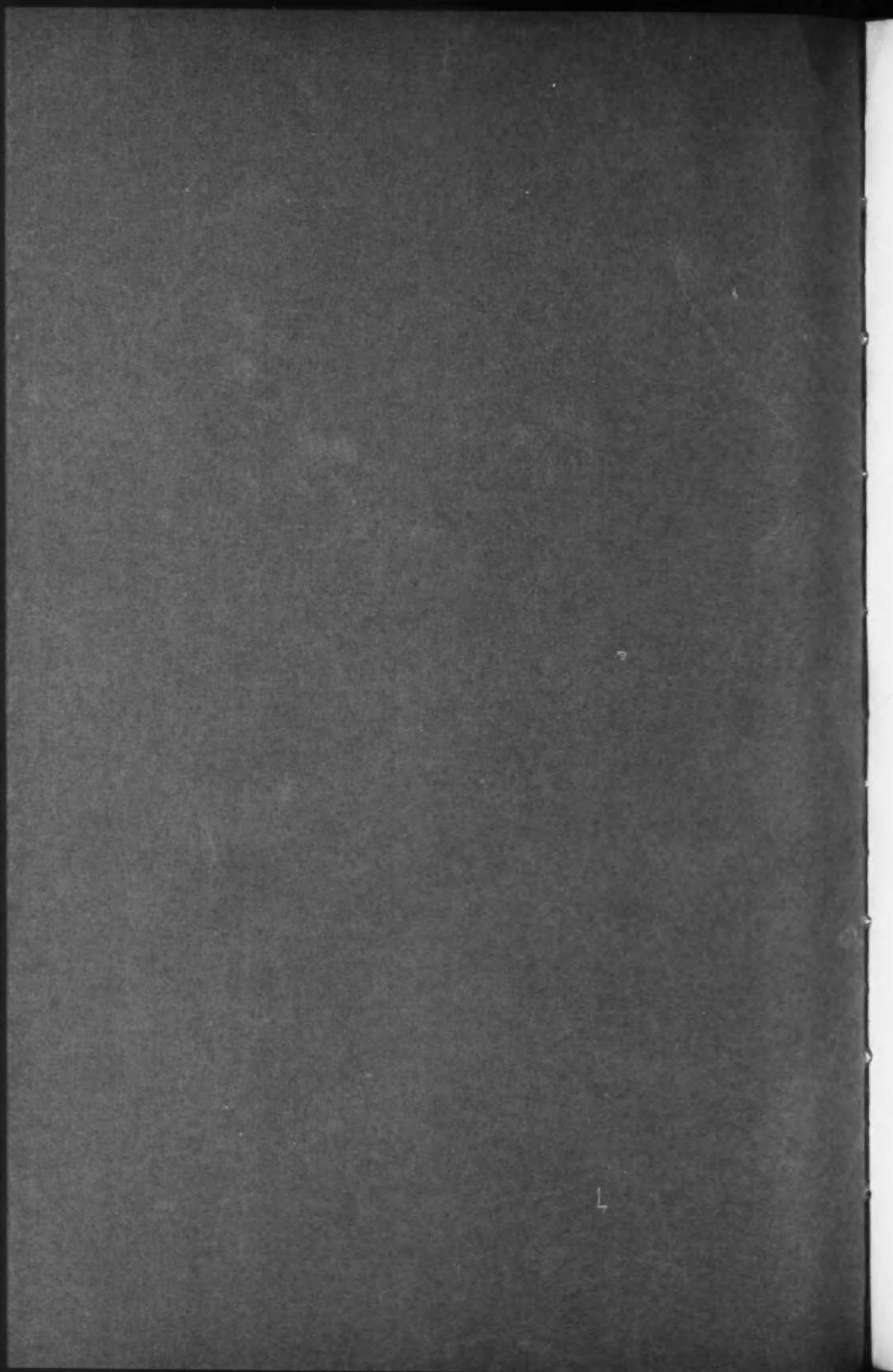
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MACKENZIE KING AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

H. S. FERNS and BERNARD OSTRY

MACKENZIE KING'S activities during the First World War were a subject of much partisan discussion throughout the early period of his leadership of the Liberal party. He was depicted by some of his political opponents as a deserter who in the hour of Canada's agony had migrated to the United States in order to avoid military service. By himself and his apologists he was described as a man whose "assistance was evidently of real value from the standpoint of helping to win the war";¹ or it was recalled, on the basis of little real evidence, that, whatever else he may have done, he had remained faithful to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the dark days of December, 1917. Neither the critics nor the admirers of Mackenzie King, however, have ever sufficiently studied his political activities and attitudes during the years before 1919 to conduct a rational argument on the subject.

Considering the want of information and the unsubstantiated opinions concerning Mackenzie King's role during the First World War exhibited in his several biographies,² the volume of evidence of his activities during the years 1914-19 is surprisingly large. Some of this evidence was not available to biographers writing in the 1920's and 1930's, but during the past five years, and particularly during the past three years, a vast amount of new evidence has become available to the public in libraries and archives in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. One important source of information has been available since 1916, the *Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations* appointed by the United States Congress in 1912. Mackenzie King was called before this Commission in April, 1914, as an expert witness. On two occasions in 1915 he appeared before the Commission in answer to subpoenas. In 1915 and in 1916 the Commission published not only the verbatim report of his oral evidence taken on oath but also important letters exchanged between him and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and between him and officers of the Rockefeller Foundation.³ In the

¹Norman McLeod Rogers, *Mackenzie King* (Toronto, 1935), 50.

²Owen E. McGillicuddy, *The Making of a Premier* (Toronto, 1922); John Lewis, *Mackenzie King, the Man: His Achievements* (Toronto, 1925); Andrew Haydon, *Mackenzie King and the Liberal Party* (Toronto, 1930); Rogers, *Mackenzie King*; Reginald H. Hardy, *Mackenzie King of Canada* (Toronto, 1950); Bruce Hutchison, *The Incredible Canadian* (Toronto, 1952).

³G. P. West, *Report on the Colorado Strike, United States Commission on Industrial Relations* (Washington, 1915); United States Congress, Senate Documents, *Report of Commission on Industrial Relations* (Washington, 1916).

Archives of Harvard University there are a number of letters exchanged between Mackenzie King and Charles W. Eliot on industrial and political questions including several letters which throw much light on Mackenzie King's attitude to the First World War. In the Public Archives of Canada, the Laurier Papers, the Willison Papers, and the Murphy Papers contain evidence of the highest importance for our understanding of the phase of Mackenzie King's career which we propose to discuss in this paper. In Great Britain the sources are more scattered but scarcely less rewarding. Surprisingly the Lloyd George Papers contain nothing relevant to Mackenzie King before his participation in the celebrated Chanak episode.⁴ But Mackenzie King's dealings with many other British political leaders such as Earl Grey, Viscount Morley and Sir Donald MacLean, Asquith's Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, require the attention of everyone wishing to contribute to a serious consideration of Mackenzie King's career. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the evidence presently available with a view to analysing Mackenzie King's political course during the First World War.⁵

The high level of economic activity throughout the world together with the intensification of political rivalry among the Great Powers, which distinguished the years of 1896-1913, generated a profound turbulence in Canadian political life. Of the many questions agitated at this time, none was of more interest, nor of more consequence for the fate of politicians and of parties, than that of Canadian policy vis-à-vis the Great Powers and the growing tension among them. Theoretically, the Canadian Government could have responded to this situation in the international community in a large variety of ways. In practice the choices were limited. A Japanese, Russian, or German orientation of Canadian policy was unthinkable. In spite of strong Canadian ties with the Roman Catholic community of Europe the Church was scarcely the agency for giving to Canadian policy an Austro-Hungarian bias; while the

⁴We are grateful to Mr. Frank Owen of the *Daily Express*, London, for his help in this connection.

⁵Some of the important sources of information on the question under discussion are not readily accessible to the public. These include the Dafoe Papers, the Rowell Papers, and the Diaries of Sir Robert Borden. Since undertaking the research for this article, however, we have had an opportunity of examining these sources. While they reveal no new information on the phase of Mackenzie King's career considered here, the papers are, nevertheless, indispensable to an understanding of the condition of Canadian society which led to the formation of the Union Government in 1917. The authors hope to conclude an examination of this subject shortly.

relations of the Church with the Governments of Italy and France were such that, even if the Church had had the power, it would have lacked the inclination to involve Canada on behalf of France or Italy. The Church apart, Canada's connection with France was historical and cultural and therefore of little consequence or practical effect upon a community and government dominated by business and economic influences. Three choices in fact remained to the Canadian Government: (1) non-involvement, either as a conscious policy or in the form of a preservation of colonial isolation from international politics as an activity in which Canadians had neither the capacity nor the interest to participate; (2) an involvement in close collaboration with the British Government; (3) an orientation of policy towards the United States.

The Boer War and the Russo-Japanese War had given Sir Wilfrid Laurier an opportunity to realize something of the difficulties which were in store for a Canadian political leader as a consequence of the changing and worsening relations of the Great Powers. Until after the election of 1908, however, he managed to avoid any commitment which seriously involved the use of Canadian men and resources in the international struggle. The refusal of the German Emperor to consider a reduction of German naval building in August, 1908, followed by the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina in October, created a state of alarm in Europe which manifested itself in Canada as a press agitation to "do something." The Opposition in Ottawa raised the question of armaments, and Sir Wilfrid felt obliged, finally, to make a choice.

He decided upon involvement on behalf of Great Britain, the construction of a Canadian armament, and the training of Canadians for military and naval service. In order to make this decision more palatable he proposed to reserve to the Canadian Parliament the decision concerning the use of the Canadian armed forces and to maintain the Canadian character of such forces, which he depicted as the means of defending Canadian shores and Canadian territory. For those who might object to the imprint of maple leaves rather than Union Jacks upon the armaments, he pointed to the fact that the Canadian undertaking was part of an Imperial effort which aimed at a wide mobilization of men and resources and a defence in depth calculated to permit Great Britain the more sharply and heavily to concentrate her naval effort.

Sir Wilfrid realized that his decision to involve the Canadian people in the international struggle was not a popular one. "I am

quite aware," he wrote to Senator Dandurand in December, 1909, "that our policy is not popular. . . ."⁶ Why, then, did he make such a decision? In order to explain this, Liberal historians such as Skelton and Professor Lower have employed racial dialectics. According to them, French-speaking Canadians did not want to fight in "Britain's wars," and English-speaking Canadians did. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy represented a nice compromise between the opposite racial inclinations.⁷ Unfortunately this analysis neglects a good many facts. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy was unpopular not only in Quebec but elsewhere in Canada. The only feature of the opposition in Quebec distinguishing it in any way from opposition elsewhere in Canada was the presence there, among the objectors, of people with social power and authority such as Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne. Elsewhere the resistance to Laurier's policy of armaments was more completely centred in the labour and farmers' movements, and the criticisms of his policy were more often voiced by anarchist and socialist leaders rather than by men with close connections with the Church and the professions. But this opposition was not less real in non-French Canada for the want of middle-class participation. From 1909 until the outbreak of the war the volume of opposition to armaments expressed at meetings of the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Council of Agriculture⁸ grew year by year. When war finally came, J. C. Watters, President of the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, declared that "there should be a great international strike against war",⁹ a statement which contrasted with Henri Bourassa's appeal made at the same time to support the war.¹⁰ Although the evidence has not been thoroughly examined, there is such an abundance of it suggesting popular resistance to policies of involvement that we are obliged to conclude that resistance tended to vary

⁶Quoted in O.D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (London, 1922), II, 330.

⁷Skelton, *Life and Letters of Laurier*, 429 ff.; A. R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation* (Toronto, 1946), 460-67. Cf. G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Canadian External Relations* (Toronto, 1950), 301; W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto, 1950), 58, 73; Edgar McInnis, *Canada* (Toronto, 1947), 410-15.

⁸P. F. Sharp, *The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada* (Minneapolis, 1948), 75-6; cf. *ibid.*, 95-8. J. C. Mills, "A Study of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, 1910-1930" (unpublished M.A. thesis in the library of the University of Manitoba), 70. Fred J. Dixon Correspondence, Public Archives of Manitoba, Dixon to Borden, Dec. 27, 1912.

⁹Quoted in J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1917, 417.

¹⁰Quoted in M. P. O'Connell, "The Ideas of Henri Bourassa," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Aug., 1953, 374.

not according to race but according to social strata.¹¹ People with wealth and social power tended to regard involvement in international rivalries as both desirable and necessary; those with little or no social power other than their votes and their capacity for acting together tended to regard involvement with indifference, bewilderment, and very frequently hostility. That acute and reactionary observer of the Canadian scene, J. Castell Hopkins, was right when he described the state of the public mind in 1913-14 as one of "extreme Pacificism."¹²

By the mid-summer of 1910 the Laurier Government was making heavy weather. Its foreign policy was an embarrassment, and the heavy cost of Liberal prosperity to most of the people was being felt with greater severity. Real standards of life were being adversely affected among a wide constituency.¹³ In July-August, 1910, the great strike on the Grand Trunk Railway brought the prestige of the Government low; and, when it was revealed in November that Mackenzie King's intervention in the strike had enabled the management of the Grand Trunk to blacklist and downgrade men and deprive them of their pensions, the Laurier Government faced the Christmas recess of 1910 in a foundering condition.¹⁴ The policy of Reciprocity offered to Parliament after the Christmas recess represented an attempt to escape from the political and economic impasse to which the Liberals had come. Having rejected the first choice and discovered the volume of objections to the second, Laurier embraced the third choice open to him: an American orientation for Canadian policy. This, he discovered, excited the indignation of many of the socially powerful elements without in any way appeasing the populace. Indeed, Reciprocity succeeded in fusing together several social strata to produce a popular political movement united in its opposition, if not in its advocacy. Robert Laird Borden was voicing something more than a conventional platitude when he declared after the election of September, 1911, that the defeat of the Liberals was a "triumph of the Canadian people rather than any political party."¹⁵

¹¹Sir Clifford Sifton had no illusions on this subject. The Dafoe Papers contain a large volume of material which supports the conclusion that differences about foreign policy and its consequences were based on class rather than race.

¹²Hopkins, *Canadian Annual Review*, 1917, 472.

¹³R. H. Coats, *The Rise in Prices and the Cost of Living in Canada, 1900-1914* (Department of Labour, Ottawa, 1915), 48 ff.

¹⁴For a documented account of this event see our forthcoming book, *The Age of Mackenzie King: The Rise of the Leader* (London and Toronto, 1955), chap. v.

¹⁵*Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, 285. Writing to Howard A. Kennedy of *The*

The domination of the Canadian economy and the determination of the structure and movement of Canadian politics by international political and economic influences, which had come to pass during the Laurier epoch, must be borne in mind when any examination of Mackenzie King's course is undertaken. Of fundamental importance in the charting of his career were the estimates he made of the changing weights of the Great Powers in world affairs and of the power and influences of the mass responses to the commotions of world politics and their costs in wealth and life for the Canadian people. Between the years 1911 and 1919 Mackenzie King discovered his course, and made those connections which determined his place in history and the manner of his responses to its necessities.

Before 1911 Mackenzie King had been obliged to concern himself very largely with domestic questions of great and fundamental importance in any industrial society, but his departmental concern with problems of immigration and the recruitment of the Canadian labour force had confronted him with imperial and international problems, so that by 1911 he had travelled more widely in the Empire than any of Laurier's ministers and, save Laurier and Fielding, had probably concerned himself with more high political questions of international and imperial consequence than any Liberal minister. During his early years as a politician in the Civil Service and in Parliament, Mackenzie King was a run-of-the-mill Liberal imperialist. The imperialist missionary and Governor-General, Earl Grey, took kindly to him and thought him a potential and suitable Prime Minister.¹⁶ Mackenzie King used to pass along the texts of Grey's utterances to his father for transmission to Willison, the Toronto newspaper editor and proprietor.¹⁷ When he published *The Secret of Heroism* in 1906 Mackenzie King included in its text the speech of the Governor-General in which Grey confessed that he did not know Mackenzie King's lamented friend Henry Albert Harper, but thought he must be like "another young civil servant of the Crown" who, before he was carried to his grave "in the Matoppos of Rhodesia," was reported to have remarked, "Well, it is a good thing to die for the expansion of the Empire—that Empire which, in his mind, as in that of Harper, was synony-

Times, Oct. 14, 1911, Mr. Borden commented: "In the recent election the people of Canada emphasized their determination to control their own destinies as a nation within the Empire. I do not think that determination will ever again be questioned."

¹⁶Violet Markham, *Return Passage* (London, 1953), 82.

¹⁷Public Archives of Canada, Willison Papers, several letters during 1905 and 1906.

mous with the cause of righteousness."¹⁸ Shortly after the publication of *The Secret of Heroism*, its author was inexplicably and to the great indignation of other deputy ministers awarded a C.M.G. "for public services."¹⁹ The fuss over his C.M.G. did not kill the disposition which won it. When he consulted the India Office in London and the Viceroy in Calcutta and Delhi he always showed the greatest solicitude for "imperial responsibilities."²⁰

In assessing a politician, Sir George Foster once asked: "Can he impress the men he must lead to victory or defeat, and the masses who are to be moulded?"²¹ In dealing with men whom it was necessary to impress Mackenzie King was a discreet imperialist. When engaged in the business of "moulding the masses" he could, however, take another line. During the election of 1911 he caused acute embarrassment to his party by an erratic bit of steering while endeavouring to drive down the left side of the road. Speaking on August 20, 1911, to an audience in North Waterloo containing many persons of German descent, he accused the Conservatives of planning to supply the British Government with dreadnoughts with which to attack Germany. This was considered an odd charge to make not only against the Canadian Conservatives but against the English Liberals. The overt anti-imperialism of this utterance does not, however, seem to have represented his settled views for either public or private expression, nor a sudden change of mind. Presiding over a meeting of the General Reform Association in November, 1911, immediately prior to the Ontario provincial election, he declared: "Whatever may be the differences in matters of domestic policy between the Liberal and the Conservative parties in Canada, they are cordially united in their loyalty to the British Crown and in their belief that Canada's future is bound up with the future of the Empire, and that, as part of the British Empire, Canada has more to give and more to receive than any other destiny under the sun."²² Five months later he was still following this line. Speaking at Belleville on April 17, 1912, he denounced the Borden Government for their lack of energy in the matter of armaments. The Liberal party's policy, he declared, aimed at "building up a real Empire with Great Britain as the centre but all parts establishing new Naval centres of strength."²³

¹⁸W. L. Mackenzie King, *The Secret of Heroism* (Toronto, 1906), 17.

¹⁹Information about the indignation in the bureaucracy is derived from the recollections of several contemporaries of Mackenzie King.

²⁰P.A.C., Laurier Papers, King to Laurier, Jan. 31, 1909.

²¹W. S. Wallace, *The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster* (Toronto, 1933), 171.

²²*Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, 466.

²³*Ibid.*, 1912, 41.

This springtime exuberance on behalf of armaments began to wither in the heat of the summer. The year 1912 was a hard one for Canadian politicians; a year when the first seeds of disaster or success for many of them were sown. Prime Minister Borden devoted his first energies in office to stilling the restlessness of the labour movement, to dismantling the Liberal political machine in the Civil Service, to the consideration of grain marketing and to the improvement of agricultural techniques. He avoided, or at least long deliberated on, the most pressing of all political questions: Canada's relations with Great Powers and their struggles. He had no difficulty in rejecting an orientation in the direction of the United States. Reciprocity was dead, and so apparently were all its political implications. The enlargement of the American equity in Canadian enterprise was not, however, checked. On the contrary the tremendous growth of American investment in Canada continued to accelerate, but this feature of American penetration was unnoticed or unregarded.

The central question of relations with Great Britain remained. In the summer of 1912, Borden and a party of Cabinet colleagues travelled to Britain in search of data upon which a policy might be founded or, at least, with which it could be defended. Word went around, however, that Borden intended to work for a compromise acceptable to his "nationalist" colleagues in the Cabinet and, perhaps, even to the "nationalist" movement. At once a strong group of Liberals sprang to Borden's assistance with an offer of support for a policy not only of building a Canadian Navy but also of a money contribution for the immediate construction of dreadnoughts for the British Navy. This movement for a bipartisan armaments policy had its origin in a dinner party in Toronto on August 7, 1912, attended by a large number of prominent Ontario Liberals such as N. W. Rowell, Senator R. Jaffray, and J. E. Atkinson. The movement spread rapidly to western Canada where J. W. Dafoe and Sir Rodmond Roblin joined hands in advocating a Laurier-Borden pact to implement an increased armament programme.

Many of Mackenzie King's closest political friends, such as the Ontario provincial leader, N. W. Rowell, whose principal lieutenant he was, were prominent in this movement to force a union of Laurier and Borden in bipartisan opposition to the pacifist, anti-armaments movement. Mackenzie King, however, never figured in the bipartisan movement. Whether this was a result of good luck or good management we cannot say, but it was in any case a very fortunate absence. Laurier refused to respond to the movement

on the grounds that Prime Minister Borden ought himself to settle with his own nationalist-pacifist supporters. Shortly after Laurier's decision Mackenzie King visited England where, it appears, he made soundings with a view to following his university class-mate, Hamar Greenwood, into the House of Commons at Westminster.²⁴ He was apparently rebuffed in Great Britain, and he returned to Canada. From the time of his return a new note may be detected in his public utterances on the subject of foreign policy.

The new note was first heard in December, 1912, in Montreal. The Government's policy of contributing money but not men to imperial defence had been announced some weeks before Mackenzie King had returned to Canada. In Montreal he attacked the policy of Prime Minister Borden as one of tribute, "a scheme fraught with infinite danger" such as the one which, he believed, had led to the collapse of the Roman Empire. This might have meant anything. Rowell might have agreed with it, and so might Bourassa. In January, 1913, however, there was no mistake about where Mackenzie King was heading. In Toronto on January 10, 1913, he told his audience, "The German scare is dead. . . . Mr. Borden proposes to increase the Public Debt of Canada by \$35,000,000 which will have to be borrowed in England, for the purpose of building battleships for Great Britain at a time when she is using an enormous surplus not to build warships but to reduce her National Debt."²⁵ In March he was winning applause for a line of almost unreserved pacifism and neutrality. To the Canadian Club in Toronto in March, 1913, he appealed in these words: ". . . let us begin in a modest way, not seek to surpass the nations of Europe, Germany, France, Britain and all the other nations on earth in our paraphernalia of war. I say we should have a higher ideal than that! There are other ways of helping the Empire! My mind does not run on the lines of war; my mind runs rather along the lines of peace. (Applause)."²⁶

The extent to which this was a personal line or a party line is not altogether clear, but it certainly agreed with the general tendency of Laurier and the federal Liberal high command in the direction of pacifism and neutrality. In the by-election in South Bruce in the autumn of 1913, Laurier swung far over to the left. Liberal speakers saw at work in Canada the insidious and hidden influences of the Krupps. "No nation," Mackenzie King told the

²⁴There is some evidence on this subject in the Murphy Papers.

²⁵Quoted in *Canadian Annual Review*, 1913, 183.

²⁶*Proceedings of the Canadian Club, Toronto, 1912-1913*, X (Toronto, 1913), 221.

electors of South Bruce, "can take offence at Canada building ships for Canadian waters in Canada's defence, but for Canada to deliberately place dreadnoughts in European waters is to invite antagonisms."²⁷ This line paid off at the polls. R. E. Truax, the Liberal candidate, was returned to a seat which had been won by a Conservative in 1908 and 1911.

From all this it might be concluded that the Liberal party was abandoning the second of the three practical choices which we have postulated, and was adopting the first. Whatever may have been true of Laurier, Mackenzie King was moving towards the third choice—a pro-American orientation. In 1914 he began to organize, with American money supplied by the Carnegie Trustees, the Canadian Association for International Conciliation, a Canadian offspring of the parent body in the United States whose chairman was Nicholas Murray Butler. Mackenzie King was chairman of the Organizing Committee in Canada. He explained to Sir John Willison, the Tory ex-Liberal, whom he was attempting to bring into the organization:

It is desired, that, for the present at least, the Canadian Association be limited in its membership to a few persons of prominence in different parts of Canada who are known to be desirous of promoting conciliation as a means of maintaining and furthering friendly relations between nations, and who may be relied upon as willing to confer informally from time to time with members of similar organizations in other countries on matters which may have a bearing on the promotion of world peace. . . . There are no membership fees or liabilities of any kind, other than those of the moral and social nature described, but membership of the Association will entitle you to publications issued by allied Associations, and on occasion, to information of a semi-confidential nature respecting matters affecting internal and international relations which, except through membership of the Association, it might not be possible to obtain.²⁸

Willison was apparently reluctant to undertake "to confer informally . . . with members of similar organisations in other countries." To still his doubts Mackenzie King explained that "the loose form of organisation . . . has been purposely selected with a view to avoiding adherence to any particular set of views or the propagation of any individual line of peace propaganda. The object is rather to frankly admit the possible divergence of views being assured only of the integrity of purpose, the experience, and the influence of those who make up the membership of the Association."²⁹

An examination of the list of members reveals how far were

²⁷*Canadian Annual Review*, 1913, 288.

²⁸Willison Papers, King to Willison, July 10, 1914.

²⁹*Ibid.*, July 21, 1914.

Mackenzie King's conciliators of July, 1914, from "an adherence to any particular set of views." They all possessed, of course, "integrity of purpose . . . , experience and . . . influence," for they were all men of considerable wealth and/or authority in the community, and particularly in Toronto. A few like Sir George Foster were Conservatives. Many were Liberals. Some, being members of the Bench, were supposed to be non-political. Others, like Sir Louis Jetté, were superannuated political ornaments. A classification of the members according to views on foreign policy would be difficult. None of the members were obvious "jingoese," but many of them, such as Sir George Foster and N. W. Rowell, would have considered themselves "imperialists." On the other hand the "anti-imperialist" J. S. Ewart, K.C., was a member. Curiously enough no leader in federal politics from the province of Quebec and close to Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a member, and, indeed, all the Quebec members of Mackenzie King's peace front, save Sir Lomer Gouin, resembled Sir Louis Jetté in their antiquarian character. Less impotent specimens from other provinces were members: a brace of Siftons, Sir Edmund Walker, the banker, J. E. Atkinson, the Canadian Rothermere, and J. F. Mackay and John Lewis of the *Globe*, the front wheels of Mackenzie King's personal political machine.³⁰

July 21, 1914, when Mackenzie King last appealed in vain to Willison to join his band of conciliators, was a day rather late in history for embarking on a peace campaign. The movement of events was too rapid for Mackenzie King's organization and no realignment of political forces was effected by this endeavour to reorient a powerful element in the Canadian political community. Mackenzie King was obliged to move nearly alone along the road towards a closer identity with American policy. But there is no question about his movement nor about the road he was travelling. The evidence on this point is compelling.

When H.M. George V declared war on the Emperor of Germany on August 4, 1914, his former Minister of Labour in Canada had arrived at one of the political crises of his life, a crisis which was personal and yet linked in a very direct and meaningful way with the world's crisis. He was a Canadian politician, a member of the Canadian Privy Council and a supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier under whose direction he worked as editor of the *Liberal Monthly*, a propaganda organ of the federal Liberal party. At least four weeks previous to August 4, 1914, he had, however, made up his mind to

³⁰Laurier Papers, Mackay to Laurier, March 6, 1911, which reveals something of Mackay's part in promoting the political career of Mackenzie King.

enter the service of the Rockefeller interests as a labour relations adviser.³¹ Ostensibly he was to work as a Director of Research of the Rockefeller Foundation, but on August 1, 1914, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., sent Mackenzie King a file of correspondence between himself and the officers of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company which Rockefeller partly owned and wholly controlled. Mr. Rockefeller asked Mackenzie King to outline to him a plan for a company union as an alternative to recognition of the United Mine Workers of America.³²

When the war broke out Mackenzie King thus found himself in the position of a blacksmith heating iron in two separate forges and endeavouring to beat out horseshoes on two different anvils at once. He blew the bellows and smacked and cracked with his hammer at a great rate, sure that one of his horseshoes was bound to be lucky. In order to cut his expenditure of energy he let the Canadian Association for International Conciliation die a natural death, although he continued to write letters on the Association's stationery for a few weeks after the outbreak of hostilities. Indeed, he became a fierce patriot for a few days. The August number of the *Liberal Monthly* was all his own work.³³ It breathed indignation at the crimes of Germany. It called for energetic and active military effort. It demanded a united front of all parties in the interest of victory. But the *Liberal Monthly* of August, 1914, was no appeal to crude patriotism and flag waving. Mackenzie King displayed his virtuosity as a propagandist, for he realized that the war was greeted, not by the flaming blood lust of a minority, but by the despair of a broad constituency. He mixed together liberal, humanitarian, and democratic zeal with patriotism and blood sacrifice, to make a tolerably palatable dose for popular consumption:

While the Armageddon of Europe fills the thought of man with indescribable horror; the tragic vision is, even now, not without episodes which the world's memory would unwillingly forego. One is the common patriotism which cemented in an hour domestic difficulties that had brought the peoples of the British Isles to the brink of civil war; another is the sublime heroism of a neutral nation prepared to sacrifice its entire manhood rather than allow its honour to suffer a stain, or a sister country to endure a wrong, and a third is the spectacle of the young free nations of the British Empire rising with one accord, on all the continents of the globe, to strengthen with the vigour of

³¹Archives of Harvard University, Eliot Correspondence, King to Eliot, July 8, 1914: "Mr. Greene has doubtless told you that I have become identified with the Rockefeller Foundation. . . ."

³²West, *Report on the Colorado Strike*, 157 ff., Rockefeller to King, Aug. 1, 1914.

³³The authors are grateful to Mr. Fred MacGregor for this information.

youth, and even before the call of duty, the arm which has protected them through the years, and which at this moment is raised in self-defence at home, and stretches forth to deal a blow at arrogance and aggression abroad.³⁴

This was one way of looking at the war. But there were others. Writing to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., on August 6, 1914, he invited Mr. Rockefeller to view his position as an employer of labour in the light of the situation created by the outbreak of war.

It may be, however, that organised labour in the United States will realise the opportunities and the handicaps likely to come to certain industries through the changed conditions in Europe and will be prepared to cease hostilities where industrial strife at present exists, in order that on the one hand labour may reap with capital a fuller measure of the harvest, or, in industries that may be affected, protect itself against consequences that are certain to arise. . . . Looking at the ultimate, rather than the immediate effect, there is, speaking generally, going to be a large amount of unemployment as a consequence of this war, and once the war is over, thousands of men and their families in the Old World are going to seek future employment in the New. In certain industries it is going to be easy for employers to find all the labour they desire, and unions will be confronted with a new problem. . . .³⁵

Mr. Rockefeller was thus encouraged not to worry about the problem of recognizing real unions. All that the situation required was a judicious course of company unionism.

Mackenzie King did not limit his connections in the United States to a mere association with a learned Foundation and large business interests. From the very beginning of his connection he concerned himself with American political questions and particularly with those relating to foreign policy. No sooner had the war broken out in Europe than he recognized the vast alteration taking place in world power relationships favourable to the United States. "It does seem," he wrote to President Eliot of Harvard on September 9, 1914, "as though the present were a moment when the attitude of the United States was going to determine to a degree, far exceeding the visions of the most-far-seeing, the standards governing countries in international relations."

A few days previously Mackenzie King had written a letter to William Jennings Bryan, the Secretary of State of the United States and the principal and, indeed, the only exponent of a policy of strict neutrality in Wilson's Cabinet.³⁶ The opening paragraphs of

³⁴*Liberal Monthly* (Ottawa), Aug., 1914, 152.

³⁵Printed in West, *Report on the Colorado Strike*, 160 ff.

³⁶S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1942), chap. xxxii; T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1946), 614-15.

this letter appear at first sight to consist of a clever argument designed to involve the United States in the European war. The movement of society in history, argued Mackenzie King, is exactly as Sir Henry Maine described it: from status to contract.

Sir Henry Maine has made it clear [he wrote] that what distinguishes modern progressive societies from archaic communities is the recognition given to argument and contract, as opposed to power or position, in determining relations so far as these affect the property of individuals. Is it not that transitions similar to those which have taken place between men in their individual relations, have followed in the relations between communities and nations? And may it not well be that History, viewing the awful struggle in Europe today, will reveal it as one of those painful transitions which make for progress in the world's affairs?³⁷

This seemed to anticipate the theory implicit in Woodrow Wilson's war propaganda that the war in Europe was simply a universalization of the American Revolutionary War with the Kaiser cast in the role of George III and the Allies in the role of Washington's followers. But Mackenzie King did not go on to discuss the breach of an international contract by the German invasion of Belgium. Instead, he endeavoured to strengthen Bryan's will to neutrality. Strict adherence to the "contracts of neutrality" was, according to Mackenzie King, the best device by which the United States could serve the cause of progress in world affairs and "greatly further its own diplomatic ends."

A universally accepted interpretation of neutrality [he wrote] very properly prevents the United States of America from taking, or appearing to take, any side in the present struggle. On the other hand, the standards she has set herself and for other nations would seem to make it impossible for her to be indifferent to an attitude towards belligerents, higher and more far reaching than that which a mere recognition of the generally accepted rights of neutrals would permit her to take. This the Administration has already recognised by allowing it to be known that the Government would not view with favour the exercise of the rights of loans being made by American citizens to the government of one of the belligerent nations,³⁸—a right the exercise of which is perfectly legal, and wholly compatible with strict neutrality. No one familiar with American public opinion will, even for a moment, believe that this view of the Administration has been taken through any desire to lessen the power of France in the present struggle. On the contrary, it is, I believe,

³⁷Eliot Correspondence, King to Bryan, Sept. 4, 1914, a copy of which is enclosed with King to Eliot, Sept. 9, 1914.

³⁸This refers to the intimation given to the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. by the U.S. Government in the form of a telegram from Bryan on August 15, 1914, that a loan to France, although legal, was inconsistent with the "spirit of neutrality": *vide*, Bailey, *Diplomatic History of the American People*, 621.

everywhere recognised that it is but a part of the higher sense of obligation in international affairs which has been the point of educational effort in recent years on the part of some of your most distinguished citizens. The doctrine that war might be averted were the Nations of the earth to refuse credit to any country that engages in war without first submitting the question at issue to the Hague Tribunal, has, while failing thus far of acceptance, nevertheless, made itself felt to the extent of enabling the Administration to take the stand it has in this particular, and in causing other nations to respect the stand thus taken.

May it not be assumed that as respects all other questions which may arise, a like attitude will command a like respect? In maintaining the higher ground, and continuing to view with open disfavour other acts that a strict neutrality might permit, but which may serve to prolong the European conflict, may not the United States be a means of advancing the whole basis of world civilization, and at the same time, in the sum of things, greatly further its own diplomatic ends?

President Eliot was an unfortunate choice of persons for such confidences as these. Eliot did not like the "higher ground" occupied by Secretary Bryan and the object of Mackenzie King's admiration. He had already told President Wilson that the situation in Europe and the prospect of a German victory justified "the abandonment of Washington's advice that this country keep out of European complications."³⁹ With Mackenzie King he was plain. He, too, wanted to see the universalization of the American Revolution and the American constitution. "The best issue of this War," he wrote, "can hardly be more than the abolition of permanent executives having power to make war without action on the part of a representative assembly, and the reduction of militarism. . . ."⁴⁰ But Germany was plainly in the wrong, according to Eliot, and must be beaten before there could be any thought given to an exploration of millenary schemes for world peace. "In my opinion, no attempts at mediation should be made by the United States," concluded Eliot, "or any combination of neutral states or any self-selected league, until Germany says she is ready for the cessation of hostilities."

After this exchange Mackenzie King never corresponded further with Eliot on the subject of international policy. He busied himself with his work for the Rockefellers. The United Mine Workers of America responded to President Wilson's appeal for a truce in Colorado in September, 1914, and Mackenzie King as the chief labour relations adviser of the Rockefellers was obliged to take advantage of every opportunity afforded by the new situation in the western coal-fields. During the remainder of 1914 and throughout

³⁹E. M. House, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (London, 1926), I, 294.

⁴⁰Eliot Correspondence, Eliot to King, Sept. 16, 1914.

1915 he was busy with the construction of a company union⁴¹ in the plants of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and with the design of a programme of labour legislation establishing compulsory conciliation in Colorado.⁴²

Although Mackenzie King was employed by the Rockefellers and had come to identify himself closely with American interests and American policy, he never abandoned the idea of a political career in Canada. He maintained his formal residence in Ottawa, and, indeed, he maintained an Ottawa address on the official stationery of the Rockefeller Foundation so that his letters were officially written from Ottawa, even when postmarked Denver, New York, and Philadelphia. Very largely he was forgotten by the Canadian public during 1915. Shortly after he started working for the Rockefellers a Conservative newspaper had referred to him as a "high paid labour sleuth." This had elicited indignant denials from his father and himself.⁴³ When he answered the subpoena to appear before the Commission on Industrial Relations sitting in New York and in Washington in 1915, he was briefly in the news on account of the revelation of his role as an architect of company unions, but his name soon disappeared from the newspapers. By January, 1916, his main job for the Rockefellers was done. In the spring of that year he started a quiet press campaign in Canada concerning his work with the Rockefellers. This reversed the tiny flow of hostile comment on his work in the United States, and by June Laurier was able to remark to his ex-Minister of Labour that he was glad to notice "that attacks against you have ceased."⁴⁴

The initial criticism of Mackenzie King's activities in the United States had been directed at the character of the work he was doing there and his affiliation with the richest and most powerful section of American finance capital. The *Ottawa Citizen* once referred to him as "W. L. M. King of the Rockefeller gold belt." Privately, however, some of his friends began to question his general political orientation in the direction of the United States. His powerful Tory friend, Sir John Willison, refused to listen sympathetically to his complaints that he was being unjustly attacked and misunderstood.

⁴¹His system of "industrial representation" established in the plants of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company was declared to be a company union by the National Labor Relations Board in 1938, and free elections were ordered which resulted in the establishment of real unions.

⁴²For an assessment of this legislation, *vide* C. E. Warne and M. E. Gaddis, "Eleven Years of Compulsory Investigation of Industrial Disputes in Colorado," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXV (1927).

⁴³Willison Papers, King to Willison, Nov. 12, 1914.

⁴⁴Laurier Papers, Laurier to King, June 15, 1916.

Willison expressed harshly "a doubt as to the possibility of [a man] earning an income in the United States and serving in the Canadian Parliament." Hon. Charles Murphy once remarked that "King was ever his own onion"; in this instance he resorted to this peculiar talent. He told Willison in moving terms that he had worked in the United States in order to keep his mother and father out of the poorhouse and in The Roxborough in Ottawa. "It is true," he wrote, "that part of my income comes to me in the form of cheques from New York, but it has never occurred to me that in accepting remuneration in that way I was differently circumstanced from any persons living in Canada who might have investments in American securities, or who might be selling their produce in American markets."⁴⁵ Heartlessly Willison was concerned not so much with the receipt of money but with what was being sold.

References in the *Canadian Annual Review* during these years were a good index of a politician's public importance. Mackenzie King had been mentioned frequently in 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914. In 1915 and 1916 he was not mentioned once, and in 1917 only twice. His brief and trivial correspondence with Laurier in the spring and early summer of 1916 ceased, and he appears to have faded into the background through the later part of 1916 and the first six months of 1917. During this period he appears to have had little or no contact with the party leadership, or at least no contact reduced to writing.

The period was, however, one for caution. Empires, governments, and political parties were breaking up under the weight of war. There had been mutinies in the French Army and a hunting down of "the preachers of disaffection" in that country. The Tsar had been obliged to abdicate to the forces of revolution in Russia. In Germany the Emperor proclaimed the end of the class system of voting and the introduction of the secret ballot in order to quiet popular commotion, but this had not prevented the Reichstag from voting in July for peace without annexations. The international Socialist Congress in Stockholm in May had called for peace. In August His Holiness the Pope put forward peace proposals. The Austro-Hungarian Emperor was putting out peace feelers.⁴⁶ But there was one overwhelming circumstance which had destroyed the possibility of peace in 1917. This was the entry into the war of the United States.

⁴⁵Willison Papers, King to Willison, July 28, 1916.

⁴⁶See W. L. Langer, ed., *An Encyclopedia of World History* (Cambridge, 1948), 941-2.

In 1917 the Canadian people were beset by the same war weariness which afflicted the other combatants. The Canadian troops had suffered terrible casualties. The Canadian economy had passed from a condition of depression in 1914 through full employment to a new condition of shortages, exceedingly high prices, and declining real wages. The consequent political situation was an extremely difficult one both for the Government and for the Opposition. It was a testing time and a breaking time. The masses required expert "moulding," for they were beginning to flow out of the control of those who sought victory. Laurier decided in the interest of his class and his party to go the way of the discontented. "If at the present time," he wrote to Rowell, "anybody can restrain and face the extremists, I think I am the man. Were I to flinch at all in the position which I have always taken, my usefulness would be gone, and my self-respect would be gone with it."⁴⁷

Mackenzie King emerged to the surface of Canadian political life at this juncture with a clear line in so far as the war was concerned. He had shed his neutralism. The entry of the United States into the war had simplified the situation for him, and his political schizophrenia of September, 1914, was at an end. We find him writing once more to his leader in July, 1917, at the moment of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's great crisis, when the desertion of Pardee, of Graham, and of Fielding was breaking the old man's heart. But Mackenzie King was not sending Laurier messages of sympathy and of love. He was writing, instead, in support of the manoeuvres of a prominent Liberal conscriptionist in Ontario, George Lindsey, to gain control of a newspaper in Montreal. Such overtures in such a cause were unhappily timed. Laurier replied brusquely in a letter of four sentences of which these are the two last: "The party is somewhat disorganised now and until such harmony is restored and such erring brothers as George Lindsey come back to the fold, nothing can be done. This must be obvious to George."⁴⁸

Sir Robert Borden was of the opinion that Mackenzie King tried to find a place in the Union Government.⁴⁹ There is some evidence for this in the Laurier Papers, but the evidence is not conclusive. In the end Mackenzie King ran in North York as a Laurier Liberal. In an extensive correspondence with Laurier he argued:

Canadian opinion is . . . overwhelmingly one in regard to three things: (1) That Canada is vitally concerned in the issue of the war, and that her utmost

⁴⁷Laurier Papers, Laurier to Rowell, June 2, 1917.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Laurier to King, July 11, 1917.

⁴⁹H. L. Borden, ed., *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs* (London 1938), II, 995-6. There is an earlier reference to King in this regard in the Diary of June, 1917.

endeavour must be that of lending every assistance possible to see it brought to a speedy and successful termination; (2) That a non-party government should have been formed at the commencement of the war, and that a non-party government is preferable to a strictly party government so long as the war continues; (3) That the Canadian soldiers at the front should know that they have the strong support of the government at home . . . that Canada will continue to provide such resources and men as conference with the British, American and other allied authorities disclose as needful. . . .⁵⁰

This is the voice of a new colonialism. Laurier wanted the Canadian people to decide the scale and character of their war effort through a referendum. The Borden Government was willing to make the decision for them. Mackenzie King wanted the British and American authorities to decide. In discussing the war he echoed the Wilsonian simplification of the issues involved in the war: "It is a question for Canadians, in common with all free people, whether democratic or autocratic principles are to triumph in government, whether nations that have won freedom are to remain constitutionally free or become degraded to the level of a militarist civilisation."⁵¹

Laurier was uninfluenced by Mackenzie King. He campaigned nationally on a platform of opposition to conscription unless supported by the people's will as expressed in a referendum. Mackenzie King, however, campaigned in North York behind the slogan "The purpose of the Union Government is to win the election not the War." He declined Laurier's invitation to accompany the Liberal leader to western Canada, and he refused to obey his leader's order to speak in Sherbrooke, Quebec. Formally and publicly he was a Laurier Liberal; in private he was a Wilsonian warrior.

After his defeat in the election of 1917, Mackenzie King disappeared again from public view. Part of his time he spent working on *Industry and Humanity*; part of the time he spent establishing shop industrial councils, otherwise known as company unions, in a number of large American industrial plants. The wealthy industrialist John J. Raskob declared: "I think Mackenzie King perhaps is one of the foremost men in the world today in the introduction of so-called shop industrial councils."⁵²

But Mackenzie King gave his mind as always to political questions of the first magnitude. In November, 1918, *Industry and Humanity* was published. In the pages of this formidable volume he considered the question of war in general and the First World War in particular. Here he depicted war not as a necessary element in the progress of

⁵⁰Laurier Papers, King to Laurier, Oct. 17, 1917.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²*Proceedings of the First Industrial Conference (Called by the President), October 6-23, 1919 (Washington, 1920), 214.*

mankind from status to contract, nor as a struggle for freedom against authoritarian principles, but as a tragedy arising out of the particular character of the industrial system.

Behold [he cried] at what cost Industry has been directed to the transformation of the world's resources into instruments of human destruction. Who can say the extent to which the inventions of science and the application of scientific knowledge have been devoted to augmenting and perfecting means of human slaughter, on land, and sea and in the air? Who can estimate the percentage of the world's capital and labor that has been applied to forging the weapons and amassing the munitions which have made possible the awful carnage of our day? Surely, Industry is something other than was intended by those who contributed to its creation, when it can be transformed into a monster so demoniacal as to breed a terror unparalleled in human thought, and bring desolation to the very heart of the human race!⁵³

All parties to the tragedy of the war were equally responsible. The responsibility of such elements as Prussian autocracy and Prussian militarism were plainly stated. The opinions of a British officer wounded on the Somme were employed to condemn British and American industrial civilization. In thus depicting the war as a tragedy and allotting blame all around but resting the burden of guilt particularly upon the shoulders of vague entities such as industrialism, autocracy, and authoritarianism, Mackenzie King sounded a note very agreeable to the popular movement of 1918-19. He was seemingly untroubled by the inconsistency of his line on the war in late 1918 with his line in September, 1914, and in November-December, 1917. Indeed, this inconsistency was deliberate, for the doctrines of *Industry and Humanity* represented only a few of the many views which Mackenzie King was advancing in preparation for the struggle developing over the succession to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.⁵⁴

When the Chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations asked Mackenzie King whether he considered it necessary to enquire into events in Colorado and to make them known, Mackenzie King replied that it is best to let bygones be bygones. Obviously this disposition to forget was strongly at work when Mackenzie King considered the question of the First World War. He possessed neither consistency of understanding nor consistency of emotion in relation to that great political event. This, perhaps, was one of the sources of his future strength in a world where power relationships were rapidly altering and empires and classes changing more quickly than most men and women could easily contemplate.

⁵³W. L. Mackenzie King, *Industry and Humanity* (Toronto and Boston, 1918), 3-4.

⁵⁴See Ferns and Ostry, *The Age of Mackenzie King*, chaps. ix and x.

THE FORMATION OF THE FIRST FEDERAL CABINET

W. L. MORTON

A feature of Canadian political development has been the adaptation of British cabinet government in its nineteenth-century phase to the conditions of federal politics in a trans-continental state and a democratic society. The process of adaptation has been carried out by the application of three principles in the formation of an administration. The first is that of sectional representation in the executive as well as the legislative branch of government. The second is the principle of sectional balance, exemplified not only in the equal representation of sections in the Senate¹ and the weighted representation of sections in the federal Cabinet, but also in the careful equating of the sectional incidence of national policies. (A historic example of the latter will be cited below, in the offsetting of the construction of the Intercolonial Railway by the acquisition of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory.²) The third principle is that of the communal representation of various religious and national groups, one of great importance in the functioning of Canadian government.

These general principles of cabinet formation spring from the "structure" of Canadian politics. It is difficult, for want of detailed studies, to indicate briefly the nature of the internal and fundamental structure of Canadian politics, yet aspects of it are well known to students of the subject. Canadian political life has been fiercely local in its interests and attachments. Politics always resolves itself ultimately into individuals and localities, but in Canada the disproportion between the areas of settlement and the extent of the country made politics peculiarly local, and Confederation only served to increase this disproportion of population and territory. The combination of local interests with national (or provincial) policies was therefore a work of great political difficulty. It was

¹P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, 51, Macdonald to Carnarvon, Jan. 30, 1867: "That to preserve sectional interests each of the three sections should be equally represented (in the Senate)." It is to be noted that representation of the provinces involves not only the representation of the provinces roughly in proportion to population, but also the representation of sections and groups *within* the provinces. See D. G. Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician* (Toronto, 1952), 472, quoting correspondence between Peter Mitchell of northeastern New Brunswick and Macdonald.

²A striking example of sectional balance is cited by F. H. Underhill in his "The Development of National Political Parties in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, XVI (Dec., 1935), 381, 382.

performed by the political parties, but the parties were in fact loose combinations of local individuals capable of influencing voters in their neighbourhoods and directing the flow of patronage to those localities. The type is easily recognizable; the village lawyer, the publisher of the local paper, perhaps a farmer with political experience as reeve or in some farmers' association, perhaps a rural doctor—men of contacts, of public influence, and in touch with their neighbourhoods and with the next level of the party organization. (Their names are legion in the Macdonald Papers, for example, but for the most part they remain names only.) Seldom in Canada did a family become a local political dynasty, such as gave solidity to the structure of English politics, and left in the papers of the great country houses the records of their polypoid activities. The democratic nature of Canadian society and the fluidity of Canadian wealth forbade such a development on any scale, though instances of political influence descending in a family are not wanting. But it was by means of such casual and changing agents that the Canadian parties had to reconcile local interest with national policy and slowly crystallize the flux of a democratic and expanding society into a structure of politics of which the main features were the popular House, the sectional Senate, and the representative Cabinet, under a Crown which was not so much the symbol of national unity as of imperial association. It was the interaction of such sensitive local interests, in such an extensive political federation, which gave rise to the necessity of sectional representation in the Cabinet and of sectional balance in the formulation of national policies.

These general and tentative reflections have been prompted both by certain recent studies in Canadian government and by certain documents lately examined. The latter are of interest because they deal with the formation of the first federal Cabinet and illustrate the transmission of conventions governing the formation of cabinets from the old province of Canada to the new federation. The following letters of William McDougall are unusually explicit, partly because McDougall was then unsure of his position and habitually over-emphatic in statement. They are much concerned not only with the composition of the Cabinet but also with the subjects of the Intercolonial Railway and the acquisition of the Northwest. These were closely related, since it was by the latter that Ontario, the wealthiest of the provinces, was to be compensated for her heavy share of the cost of the construction of the Intercolonial. The one unusual, but by no means uninteresting or unilluminating, element in the letters is the fact the first federal Cabinet was a coalition

administration, particularly in its Ontario section, a continuation, in a measure, of the coalition which had carried Confederation. The letters are a significant commentary on the classic passage on the representative element in the Canadian federal Cabinet, Christopher Dunkin's prediction in the Confederation Debates that such would be its character,³ and an addition to later pronouncements on the subject.⁴

The first letter was written in Ottawa on June 5, 1867, after the return of the delegates from the Westminster Conference and the passage of the B.N.A. Act, and on the eve of Confederation.

My dear McDonald [sic],

In order that there may be no misunderstanding hereafter as to our conversations in London and since our return, on the subject of organizing a Government for the Dominion, I beg to set down briefly my impressions of the conclusions at which we have arrived.

1st. We have assumed that you will be charged with the task of forming the first government.

Lord Monck told me in London that he would confide the task to you and you expressed your willingness to accept it.

2. You expressed your desire to have in the Cabinet leading men of both the great political parties in all the provinces, and to secure the aid in Ontario of the liberal representation now in the Government [of the province of Canada].

3. You agreed that in view of the relative strength of the liberals and conservatives in the several provinces, it would be fair to have them equally represented in the Cabinet, counting for this purpose Mr. Cartier and his political friends in L[ower] Canada as conservatives.⁵

³Canada, *Confederation Debates*, 1865, 497-8. Dunkin made three points: (1) That the provinces were not explicitly represented in the Senate, and that their effective representation would fall to the Cabinet: "It is admitted that the provinces are not really represented to any Federal intent in the Legislative Council. The Cabinet here must discharge all that kind of function which in the United States is performed, in the Federal sense, by the Senate." (2) That cabinet representation was inconsistent with British constitutional usage and in particular at variance with the principle of cabinet solidarity: "The British cabinet is no Cabinet of sections, but a unit." (3) That sectional representation in the Cabinet was the outcome—not, in his opinion, a necessary outcome—of responsible government: "In 1848, from consideration of a peculiar character—perhaps more personal than political—the usage was commenced, and it has since been persevered in, of having a Premier and a sub-Premier, and a cabinet organized under them, respectively, in two sections—of course, equal in numbers, or as nearly so as possible!"

⁴Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 1922, 48, Premier W. L. Mackenzie King on the formation of the administration of 1921-5; quoted in the writer's *Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto, 1950), 139.

⁵A reminder that George Cartier and those Lower-Canadian French who thought like him had been members of Lafontaine's Reform party and were still formally "Liberals."

4. You admitted that if Ontario should be represented by 5 members in the Cabinet, the liberal party should have 3, your position as premier equalizing the preponderance of liberals in that Province.⁶

5. You agreed that in the elections in Ontario, those candidates who in the last Parliament supported the Government against McGivern's motion and Brown's⁷ and who avow their willingness to give the new Government a "fair trial" shall receive the support of the Government and that in constituencies represented by Reformers in the last Parliament you will use your utmost influence to prevent conservatives opposing such candidates, we agreeing to use our influence in like manner to prevent reformers opposing conservative candidates in constituencies represented by them in the last Parliament.

6. You agreed that the important departments should be fairly divided between the two parties.

7. As the policy of the new Government, we agreed that it should harmonize with, and be the complement of the new constitution—that the spirit of compromise which had enabled us to obtain that constitution should pervade the councils [*sic*] of the first Government under it—that economy and retrenchment of useless offices and incapable officers should be practiced [*sic*] in every branch of the public service—that the speedy absorption into the confederacy of the North West territory and the other British provinces East and West should be a leading object of the Government—that the construction of the Intercolonial Railway ought to be kept in the direct control of Government by the aid of small or working contractors, to whom the work should be assigned after fair public competition, and that no existing railway influences should be permitted to interfere with the location or construction of the line—that in the distribution of the patronage the same rule as heretofore should be observed—the supporters of the Government being the advisers of the Government.

8. If I have rightly comprehended the purport and results of our general conversation, I should be glad to have your express acknowledgment of it, and also your assent to the following points some of which have been talked of but not formally agreed upon.

A. The Cabinet of the Dominion ought not to be larger than the present Canadian cabinet.

B. The person to be recommended for the office of Lieut. Governor of Ontario ought not to be politically obnoxious to the majority of the Ontario

⁶The point is a tricky one. McDougall refers to the fact that Ontario Liberals of various kinds, the followers of George Brown, the followers of John Sandfield Macdonald, and the Unionist Liberals who followed McDougall in Parliament outnumbered the Conservatives. But the basis of representation in the first Cabinet was the number of followers a minister, or group of ministers, had in Parliament. See Macdonald Papers, 252, Alexander Morris to Macdonald, June 29, 1869, discussing his own admission to cabinet, which he says was first suggested by Macdonald a year before, i.e. at time of the formation of first Cabinet and he remarks that the basis of coalition was to be the number of votes commanded in the House. Only Unionist Liberals, of course, supported McDougall, W. P. Howland and Fergusson Blair, the Liberal representatives from Ontario in the first Cabinet.

⁷Opposition motions on commercial and monetary policy: Canada, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, XXVI (1866), 124, 132, 330-1. The votes were respectively 28 to 83, and 32 to 70.

legislature and as the majority is likely to be liberal he ought to be a man whose antecedents are liberal.⁸

C. If I take office under you as Premier I will expect to be specially consulted on all question of patronage and matters affecting Ontario.⁹

I do not deem it necessary to say more in this note because minor questions, as well as some of those mentioned must be the subject of discussion by ministers when brought together and indeed I am quite willing to take my chance of getting a majority to agree with me if the Cabinet is composed as suggested. The alternative of an outvoted minister is always available.

As you are about to go west¹⁰ and I to visit my constituents, it would be convenient, and possibly prevent difficulty hereafter, if we could understand each other to the extent covered by this note.

Believe me, etc.

W. McDougall.¹¹

No reply to McDougall's careful statement of the terms and conditions upon which the first Cabinet was formed is to be found in the Macdonald Papers.¹² The Cabinet, however, was formed on the lines sketched by McDougall, except for difficulties in arranging the representation of Irish Catholic element in Quebec.¹³ Macdonald indeed was wont to deplore the practice of recognizing sectional interests so explicitly but, with his usual candid realism, accepted the necessity.

The first Cabinet of the Dominion consisted of J. C. Chapais, Minister of Agriculture, Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt, Minister of Finance, G. E. Cartier, Minister of Militia, H. L. Langevin, Secretary of State, all from Quebec; W. P. Howland, Minister of Inland Revenue, Sir John Alexander Macdonald, Minister of Justice and Prime Minister, Alexander Campbell, Postmaster General, A. J. Fergusson Blair, President of the Council, and William McDougall, Minister of Public Works, the five ministers from Ontario; S. L. Tilley, Minister of Customs, and Peter Mitchell, Minister of Marine

⁸This comment is an interesting aspect of the practical working of "responsible government," that is, government by party patronage, in Canada, which now bids fair to make even the representative of the Crown a political, and partisan, appointee. McDougall's assumption of the necessity of harmony between the Governor and Assembly also indicates how "responsible government" meant in practice the sovereignty of the electorate, now exercised through the Cabinet and Prime Minister, to the detriment at once of the independence and influence of other elements in the constitution, the Crown and Parliament.

⁹That is, McDougall is claiming the position of leader of the liberal section of Ontario representation in the Cabinet.

¹⁰It has not been possible to discover where Macdonald was about to go.

¹¹Macdonald Papers, 230, McDougall to Macdonald, Ottawa, June 5, 1867.

¹²Macdonald Papers, Letterbook 513.

¹³The story of the formation of the first Cabinet is told from Macdonald's point of view and in some detail in Sir Joseph Pope's *Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald* (Toronto, 1930), 347-51, and in Creighton's *Macdonald*, 471-4.

and Fisheries, from New Brunswick; Edward Kenny, Receiver-General, and A. G. Archibald, Secretary of State for the Provinces, from Nova Scotia. Of these Archibald, Blair, Howland, McDougall, Mitchell, and Tilley were considered Liberals, the remainder Conservatives.

Difficulties soon arose, however. In the general election of 1867, the Ontario Conservatives increased their number, and the Unionist Liberals lost some seats to the anti-coalition Liberals. In December, 1867, Fergusson Blair died, and his death removed a Unionist Liberal from the Cabinet and increased the pressure from the Conservative party, inspired by its success in the elections, to have the Ontario representation be made up of three Conservatives and two Liberals, instead of the reverse. There was the anxious necessity of placating the repeal agitation in Nova Scotia, to aid in which the office of the President of the Council was kept vacant following the death of Blair. Finally, the Cabinet was torn by a bitter struggle over the location of the line of the Intercolonial. Thus the need to reconstruct the Cabinet was urgent early in 1868.

On February 20, 1868, McDougall in Ottawa wrote, but did not send, the following note to Macdonald:

My dear Sir John:

The importance of the questions now under consideration of the Cabinet and the probability of a serious divergence of opinion in respect to some of them, will justify—in my opinion they render imperative—the immediate reconstruction of the Cabinet itself. Shortly after the death of Mr. Blair the subject was several times informally discussed and I understood you were disposed to avail yourself of the opportunity which death and political vicissitude had presented to you and reduce the Cabinet by three. As far as I could gather, the proposal met the approval of all but Mr. Cartier and his two French Canadian colleagues.¹⁴ During the late discussion on the Railway Route I was compelled to direct the attention of Council to the condition of the Cabinet—to the vacant seat for Ontario—to the unconstitutional position of two other gentlemen¹⁵—and the absence from illness of Mr. Howland, as reasons for not pushing that question to a vote as some seemed inclined to do. You

¹⁴The representation of Quebec consisted of three French members and one English; as a reduction of one would probably have had to be made from the three French members, it is obvious why these three, as the communal representatives of French Canada, should have opposed the decrease in the membership of the Cabinet.

¹⁵McDougall presumably refers to the position of Archibald, the Nova Scotian minister who had suffered defeat in the general election of 1867, but retained office until April 30, 1868. What other minister he had in mind the writer cannot conjecture unless he associated with Archibald, by analogy, the other Nova Scotian minister, Hon. Edward Kenney, a member of the Senate. On Archibald's position after his defeat, see Pope, *Macdonald*, 355-7, Macdonald to Archibald, Oct. 12, 1867.

very properly imposed your authority and the question was postponed for a few days. The Cabinet re-assembles today. The probability of agreement on the Railway question is, I fear, less than ever and the Cabinet remains in the same condition of quasi-constitutional incapacity for the decision of questions in which not only sectional feeling and interests are involved but 20 perhaps 30 millions of expenditure at the outset, and no one can tell what annual burden besides.

As I have more than once assured you, I am on every ground—personal and political—willing and anxious to aid you to complete the great work we have in hand, but I feel that I would not be true to the political interests which along with Mr. Howland I represent in the Cabinet or to the material interests of the great Province which as one of your colleagues I am bound to defend—if I did not formally and earnestly protest against the determination by a vote of the Council in its present state, of a question so serious in its consequences to Ontario, and to the whole Dominion, as the final location of the Intercolonial Railway.

In the interests of economy and I may add, as in my judgment equally if not more important—in the interests of the country in respect to executive efficiency, I am willing to share the responsibility, and I believe Mr. Howland fully concurs with me, of agreeing to a reduction of the Cabinet as respects Ontario to four, if the other two sections of the Dominion are reduced in the same proportion viz.—one each. I need not refer to the circumstances, or repeat the agreements which point this out as a desirable arrangement, for you recognize and appreciate them as strongly as I do.

If in your position you find it impossible to reduce the Cabinet at the present juncture, then let me urge you to reconstruct it as respects Nova Scotia and Ontario before the issue on the Railway question is decided. Let Mr. Blair's seat be filled at once that the views and interests of Ontario may not be overridden by a sectional policy, except after a struggle with all the advantages on our side which an additional voice and vote can give.

I have put these suggestions in the form of a confidential note to prevent misapprehension now and misunderstanding hereafter, and not to embarrass you, or promote any ulterior object of a personal kind. I will only repeat that so far as my humble abilities can aid you in building up our new constitutional edifice, they will be, as they have been entirely at your service—within those limits which duty and honour and self respect prescribe to a public man.

Believe me, my dear Sir John,¹⁶

[Unsigned]

The contents of this note were conveyed to Macdonald in a long discussion, and the note itself forwarded with a covering letter on March 4, 1868.¹⁷ This letter was provoked by an inspired article in the *Ottawa Times*, a paper close to the administration, which McDougall attributed to Peter Mitchell, Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the chief advocate of the long and costly North Shore route for the Intercolonial. McDougall protested against this at-

¹⁶Macdonald Papers, 230, McDougall to Macdonald, Feb. 20, 1868.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, McDougall to Macdonald, March 4, 1868. The letter is too diffuse for quotation.

tempt to commit the Cabinet to the route he opposed, and once more urged the reconstruction or at least the completion of the Cabinet. In desperation he proposed that the question be left an open one by the Cabinet, to be settled by a vote of Parliament. The three letters serve to indicate in some detail both the political realities behind the sectional representations in the Cabinet, and also the operation of the principle of sectional balance. For McDougall was opposing the North Shore line in order to spare his own province its share of the cost, but would relax his opposition if the Quebec and Maritimes members would support the acquisition of the Northwest.

To quote only McDougall's views, however, is to risk making him seem an exigent and too realistic a politician, and of seeming to base a generalization of wide range on the views of one man. McDougall's letter of March 4, however, was followed by a remarkable debate on the establishment by act of Parliament of the Department of Marine and Fisheries. It was perhaps because the Department was new in fact as well as in law that the bill provoked debate; the other Departments established by act at the time were continuations of the former departments of United Canada. It is a loss to scholarship that the debate was not recorded *verbatim*, as the extant reports suggest that it was of exceptional constitutional interest. In it, moreover, the two chiefs of the Cabinet, Prime Minister Sir John Macdonald and George Cartier expressed views on the structure of the Cabinet identical with those of McDougall, indeed carried them to a pitch of refinement McDougall had not attempted.

Speaking on the bill to establish the new department on April 3, 1868, Macdonald said:

that it was the policy of the Government that each Department should be administered by a responsible Minister of the Crown, a member of the Cabinet, and referring to the practice of the administration of the old Province of Canada under twelve heads of departments, said that the first consideration of the Ministry had been for the carrying out of the Government in the manner best calculated to work out the principles of the Union Act, and that their first effort had been to devise means for the proper consideration of varying local interests. It had been determined by those who had kindly come to his aid in organizing the Dominion Government that the Maritime Provinces¹⁸ should not be represented here by less than two Cabinet Ministers each, whose Departments might serve to carry to the capital home associations for the representatives of their Provinces so far separated from their constituents [*sic*].¹⁹

It was true that the theory of the constitution made no such requirement, nor

¹⁸At that time only Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

¹⁹This muddled clause is apparently an attempt, no doubt cramped by the reporter, to state the principle of sectional representation in attractive terms; the principle

prohibited the selection of the Cabinet altogether from any one particular district, but in the example of the United Kingdom, where England, Ireland and Scotland were each invariably represented at the Departments,²⁰ it was thought advisable that the confidence of every section of the Confederation should be invited and secured²¹ by the recognition of its right to Cabinet representation.²²

Macdonald then went on to explain that two members each for Nova Scotia meant four members for Quebec and five for Ontario, in view of "the greater population and wealth" of each. He discussed and defended the organization of the departments and the institution of the Treasury Board. He refused to pledge the Government to keeping the office of President of the Council vacant in order to reduce the size of the Cabinet, concluding that "the great object of securing a full Cabinet, was that each Province of the Dominion might be fully represented."²³ (The vacant office, of course, was to be filled by Joseph Howe when Nova Scotia had won its "better terms" in 1869.)

The principle of sectional representation in the Cabinet was accepted by A. A. Dorion, first speaker for the Liberal Opposition. He was, however, critical of the existing vacancies in the representatives of Nova Scotia and Ontario, and of details of the organization of the departments. Dorion, moreover, pointed out that the principle itself, if consistently applied across an enlarged Dominion, would result in a Cabinet of the unheard of number of twenty-three.²⁴

itself Macdonald disliked. There may be a suggestion that departments of particular interest to a section should go to a minister from that section, as Marine and Fisheries has in practice usually been given to a Maritimes or British Columbian member of the Cabinet, and as the old Department of the Interior used to be given to members from western Canada.

²⁰It was of course typical of Macdonald's policy and cast of thought that he would refer to British usage, however little pertinent, when he might equally easily have cited a more telling American example.

²¹This rather striking idea of the Cabinet possessing the confidence of all sections, as well as that of Parliament, is further developed by Cartier.

²²The principle of sectional representation in the Cabinet could hardly be more explicitly stated.

²³P.A.C., Canadian Parliamentary Debates, 1866-1870, April 3, 1868. These consist of microfilmed newspaper reports of the debates. Note also the passage in J. C. Dent, *The Forty Years*, II (Toronto, 1881), 470, where Macdonald is quoted as follows: "I do not want it to be felt by any section in the country that they have no representative in the Cabinet, and no influence in the Government. And as there are now no issues to divide parties, and as all that is required is to have in the Government the men who are best adapted to put the new machinery in motion, I desire to ask those to join me who have the confidence and represent the majorities in the various sections, of those who were in favour of the adoption of this system of government, and who wish to see it satisfactorily carried out."

²⁴*Ibid.*

It would seem that Dorion made some reference to American usage, for Cartier in replying to him made a striking distinction between British and American constitutional practice. He began by saying that the duty of the Government "had been to harmonize the varying interests of all sections of the country and to lay each of them fully before His Excellency the Governor-General." It was impossible for Quebec to have less than four members, three for 1,000,000 French and one for 250,000 English. The Maritime Provinces were over-represented, he admitted, but they had been "independent provinces," and the count of heads must not always outweigh every other consideration. "Recurring to the histories of previous Canadian Governments he stated that the principle of British Administration was based upon the *diffusion of power*²⁵ as far as possible, and denied that there was any analogy between American institutions and our own." The President, he said, was independent of Congress and the Secretaries of State were not "responsible ministers, bound to bring into harmony the legislative and executive authorities." "The whole question," Cartier concluded, "simply resolved itself into this, that their obligation had been to secure representation before His Excellency of all the varying interests of each section of the people, and so carry out the true principles of British Government."²⁶

Macdonald and Cartier, then, expressing what was obviously an established concept of cabinet government, went beyond McDougall in stating a theory of cabinet representation. In their view, a properly constituted Cabinet possessed the confidence, not only of a majority of the Legislature, but by direct representation of all sections of the country. By its very nature, a Cabinet so formed at once diffused power throughout the parliamentary system and into the electorate, and, conversely, concentrated power in itself to advise the Crown not only in the name of Parliament but on behalf of the different sections of the country.

The theory was a remarkable example of the adaptation of parliamentary institutions to a country of great diversity, and of growing extent. The obvious criticism was that the emphasis on the necessity of representation in the Cabinet was derogatory to the main function of the Houses of Parliament, the representation of the people in the

²⁵The italics are the writer's, who has not seen this significant phrase used elsewhere. It is the opposite, of course, of the "division of power."

²⁶P.A.C., Canadian Parliamentary Debates, 1866-1870, April 3, 1868; also in Joseph Tassé, *Discours de Sir Georges Cartier* (Montreal, 1893), 583-5.

House of Commons, and the representation of the sections in the Senate.

That criticism was made by Alexander Mackenzie, who followed Cartier and remarked that he thought the House and not the administration were the true representatives of the people. But Mackenzie apparently did not push this important point home. He contented himself with noting that the principle of securing the confidence of every section had run into difficulties in Nova Scotia, and with criticizing in detail the application of the principle. Other members also accepted the principle, Alexander Galt in particular agreeing that the circumstances of the new Government made it especially necessary to have sectional representation in the Cabinet.²⁷

The principle of sectional representation in the Cabinet, so explicitly expounded and so generally accepted in the debate of April 3, was, however, a principle of construction. The second principle defined above, that of sectional balance, was a principle of operation. The fact that the Prime Minister and Cartier accepted the former so fully neither gave McDougall a reconstruction of the Cabinet on the terms he wanted, nor did it of itself achieve the balancing of sectional interests in the instance of the location of the line of the Intercolonial, which sectional representation was designed to promote. Not until June was McDougall brought to accept reluctantly the North Shore location, and he did so, not only because he was to be out-voted in a still unreconstructed Cabinet, but because the North Shore line had been balanced by the decision of the Cabinet to press for the speedy acquisition of the Northwest. On June 28 McDougall wrote that he expected the line to be located along the North Shore, and that he saw no hope of success in further resistance. Tilley's decision not to resign if the North Shore location were approved in place of the central line he himself favoured made it useless for McDougall to resign and McDougall was the more disposed to acquiesce in view of the decision with respect to the Northwest:

I confess also that the assurances you gave me in the presence of Mr. Howland respecting the North West, and the unanimous agreement of Council that immediate action should be taken to press that issue with the Imperial Gov't. to a decision *pari passu* with the Railway, has relieved me of much anxiety. I thought I discovered a marked abatement of interest in the western project and an access of zeal for the Eastern one. But I must believe after what has

²⁷P.A.C., Canadian Parliamentary Debates, 1866-1870, April 3, 1868.

been promised and partly performed that I was mistaken. I can't help thinking that if our Dominion is not to extend to the Rocky Mountains at least—to the Pacific we hope—the western representative who agrees to spend 20 millions on Railways in the east will betray as well as misrepresent his constituents and his Province.²⁸

The principle of sectional balance was thus brought into play by setting the building of the Intercolonial Railway by the longest and costliest route against the annexation of the Northwest, a project which Maritimers regarded with forebodings of trouble and cost at least as dark as those with which McDougall viewed the North Shore line.²⁹ The reconstruction of the Cabinet proceeded more slowly. The succession of Galt, Rose, and Hincks as Ministers of Finance was contrived without disturbing the delicate balance of the Cabinet structure but other appointments had to be managed more gingerly. Not until better terms had been promised Nova Scotia did Howe accept the vacant office of President of the Council and complete the representation of his province in January, 1869. Howland was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario in July, 1868, but not until November, 1869, were one Reformer, James Cox Aikins, and one Conservative, Alexander Morris, appointed to the Cabinet from Ontario. The result was to change the composition of the Ontario representation from three Reformers and two Conservatives to two Reformers and three Conservatives, as the result of the federal election of 1867 in Ontario had indicated.³⁰ This difficulty over the respective representation of the Unionist parties

²⁸Macdonald Papers, 230, McDougall to Macdonald, June 28, 1868.

²⁹The struggle was to leave wounds which were reopened after McDougall's unhappy failure to establish Canadian authority in the Northwest. See his pamphlet, P.A.C. 3644, *The Red River Rebellion: Eight Letters to Hon. Joseph Howe* (Toronto, 1870), 41-2, in which he wrote: "I am disclosing no secret of the Council room when I affirm that in September, 1868, except Mr. Tilley and myself, every member of the Government was either indifferent or hostile to the acquisition of the North-West Territories. When they discovered that a ministerial crisis respecting the route of the Intercolonial Railway could only be avoided by an immediate agreement (and immediate action) to secure the transfer of these territories to the Dominion, they were ready to act. On the same day that Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Campbell surrendered the interests of Ontario to Quebec and Mr. Mitchell—and threw eight million dollars into the sea—I carried a proposition to send a deputation to England with full power to close negotiations for the purchase of one third of the North American continent as an offset."

³⁰Macdonald Papers, 516, Macdonald to Howland, Feb. 3, 1870. There were difficulties as McDougall, after consenting to the arrangement, resumed his opposition to the reduction of the number of Reformers. Morris, however, was acceptable to many Unionist Reformers as a man of progressive views and as "the originator and medium" of the Coalition of 1864; *ibid.*, Macdonald quoting Howland's letter approving the appointment of Morris: see Pope, *Macdonald*, 424, Howland to Macdonald, Nov. 19, 1868.

in Ontario having been settled, largely by McDougall's reluctant acceptance of the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, the Cabinet was once more complete and solidly based on the principle of sectional representation, "although," in Macdonald's words, "Confederation was adopted for the purpose of putting an end to the unhappy sectionalism that existed between Upper and Lower Canada before the Union."⁸¹

Sectionalism had not been exorcised by Confederation; it had indeed been multiplied and the process would continue with the territorial extension of the Dominion. The process of multiplication, however, had broken the deadlock in the Canadas; the Senate had been set up as the guardian of sections; and the Crown's advisers for the new Dominion had continued the practice of the old province of Canada of bringing sections into working harmony by granting them representation in the Cabinet, balancing their claims by judicious distribution of public works and patronage in the privacy of Council and ministerial office, and imposing on their diversity the unity of the Cabinet.

⁸¹*Ibid.* The replacement of the dual by the single prime ministership was the chief effect of Confederation on the working of cabinet government in Canada.

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY AGREEMENT OF 1795

ELAINE ALLAN MITCHELL

WHEN Dr. Stewart Wallace edited the *Documents Relating to the North West Company* for the Champlain Society in 1934 he included the Agreements of the Company for the years 1790, 1802, and 1804, and in his Introduction reviewed, as well, four other Agreements, for 1779, 1783, 1787, and 1795. Of the latter very little was known and it is therefore especially gratifying that this missing Agreement has now been supplied by Colonel Angus Cameron of Firhall, Nairn, Scotland, from the papers in his possession belonging to his grandfather, Angus Cameron, and his great-grand-uncle, Æneas Cameron, both of Timiskaming. The latter became a partner in the North West Company in 1798 under the terms of the Agreement of 1795, and it is his copy, written partly in his own hand, which is reproduced here by the kind permission of Colonel Cameron. Its preamble reveals the existence of still another missing North West Company Agreement, concluded in the year 1792, on which some light has been thrown by the North West Company papers in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Archives.

The first Agreement of the North West Company, in 1779,¹ divided sixteen shares among eight partnerships engaged in the fur trade, two each to Todd & McGill, Benjamin & Joseph Frobisher, McGill & Paterson, McTavish & Co., Holmes & Grant, Wadden & Co., Ross & Co., and Oakes & Co. This sixteen-share concern was continued by the Agreement of 1783 when three shares each went to Simon McTavish and the Frobisher firm, two each to George McBeath, Robert Grant, Patrick Small, and Nicholas Montour, and one each to Peter Pond and William Holmes. Dr. Wallace ascribes the disappearance of Todd, the McGills, and Paterson from the Company to a probable agreement between them and McTavish and the Frobishers to confine their interests respectively to the southwest and northwest trade. But the North West Company was by no means free of competition in the upper country and it was the tragic consequences of its struggle with Gregory, McLeod & Co. which led to the Agreement of 1783 being superseded, two years before its contractual end, by the Agreement of 1787, which brought about the union of the two rivals. The death of Benjamin Frobisher in the same year led to the formation of

¹This summary is taken from the Introduction to W. S. Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1934).

McTavish, Frobisher & Co., the union of Simon McTavish and Joseph Frobisher which was to become the dominant partnership in the North West Company.

By the Agreement of 1787, which was to run for five years, the number of shares was increased to twenty. Of these the firm of McTavish, Frobisher & Co. held seven, three belonging to Frobisher and four to McTavish, who had purchased an extra one from George McBeath. Four more shares were virtually controlled by them, those held (two each) by Small and Montour, respectively McTavish's and Frobisher's lieutenants. The surviving partners of Gregory, McLeod & Co. held four, one each to John Gregory, Normand McLeod, Peter Pangman, and Alexander Mackenzie. Robert Grant had two, and Peter Pond, George McBeath, and William Holmes, one each. Pond later disposed of his share to William McGillivray.

In July 1790 a fourth Agreement was made at Grand Portage, to come into effect in 1792 and to last until 1799. The North West Company was still to be a twenty-share concern, six shares going to McTavish, Frobisher & Co., two each to Nicholas Montour, Robert Grant, Patrick Small, John Gregory, Peter Pangman, and Alexander Mackenzie, and one each to William McGillivray and Daniel Sutherland. Presumably Sutherland's share was McTavish's extra one. Dr. Wallace says Sutherland was brought into the North West Company as a friend of McTavish's and in Article Four of the new Agreement he was named as one of three to go annually to the Portage as agents of the Montreal partners. Because of McTavish's imminent departure for England he was also to perform the same service for the two remaining years of the 1787 Agreement and for this he was assigned one of the McTavish, Frobisher & Co.'s shares.² Mackenzie's extra share came from McBeath, Pangman's from William Holmes, and Gregory's from Normand McLeod, all three of whom now disappear from the list of shareholders. It was by this Agreement, also, that McTavish, Frobisher & Co. became sole agents of the North West Company at Montreal.

About 1791 John Gregory and James Hallowell became partners in McTavish, Frobisher & Co.,³ a step necessitated perhaps by McTavish's absence in England, where he was occupied with the

²*Ibid.*, 86.

³"... I am fully determined that if either Gregory or him does not pay that attention which is due to me as the Principle of the House I shall Course my fate & the Day that I allowed my Name to be joined with theirs." Hudson's Bay Archives, F.3/1, fo. 8, Frobisher to McTavish, Oct. 24, 1791. The author is indebted to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to use these papers.

business of the English house, McTavish, Fraser & Co. In the same year a new opposition in the northwest was mooted. The principals were Todd, McGill & Co., the new firm of Forsyth, Richardson & Co., and the Henrys, and the impetus was given by the fears of these traders to the southwest that the entire trade would fall into the hands of the Americans.⁴ The first intimation of this opposition in the North West Company papers is contained in a letter from James Hallowell to Simon McTavish on October 24, 1791. "I spent yesterday . . . with Henry. He said that he has had direct & serious applications made him for a Concern in the N.W. particularly from T Forsyth & Young Howard, which he has discouraged, as he says, in vain . . . that Howard & Oldham go home expressly for the purpose, as well as Ogilvy & Mr Forsyth: & that should they meet with proper support, without doubt he (Mr. H:) must be concerned . . . he added it would have been much better for the present NWCo. to have extended their Concern to 23 Shares, & given Todd McGill & Co., Forsyth & Co., & himself one share each."⁵

A full account of the new threat is contained in a letter of December 8 from Frobisher to McTavish. The day previous McGill had called upon Frobisher and told him that Richardson, Todd, Henry, and others were determined to make an attempt at the northwest the following summer, providing he (McGill) would take a share and manage the business in Montreal, with Andrew Todd in charge of the upper country affairs. He had refused to enter into the scheme, or to allow any of his partners to do so, unless they would first agree to his telling Frobisher of the proposal, in the hope that some other plan might be adopted. In reply Frobisher pointed out the difficulties and expense to be encountered in face of the great strength of the North West Company and the possibility of ruin after several years of effort. McGill acknowledged the difficulties, but was sure that in a year or so they would make sufficient impression on the North West Company's business to induce the latter to come to some arrangement with them, and that it might be better for the North West Company immediately to extend their shares to twenty-four, the four extra shares to be given to their rivals, on condition that the House of McTavish, Frobisher & Co. should have the management of the whole business both in London and Montreal. Frobisher answered that nothing could be done at the moment but if McGill and his associates would wait until the autumn of 1792, when the feelings of both sides would have become

⁴*Ibid.*, fo. 31, Frobisher to McTavish, Dec. 8, 1791.

⁵*Ibid.*, fo. 8, Hallowell to McTavish, Oct. 24, 1791.

clearer, something might be arranged. Following the interview McGill sent down for Frobisher's perusal a letter written to Mr. Todd⁶ in London, which the latter was to show to McTavish, in which Henry's name was left out and mention made only of the two Houses of Todd, McGill & Co. and Forsyth, Richardson & Co. Frobisher's own convictions were that Phyn, Ellice & Inglis would support the new opposition to any extent and that it would prove a formidable one.⁷ In a private letter of the same day, to be kept from the eyes of Small and Mackenzie who were in London, Frobisher pointed out that the Montreal house would suffer less than its partners in the North West Company, since it would benefit by a larger commission in Montreal, as well as from the advantage to be reaped by its London house, and that in these circumstances, it might be better to make a small sacrifice and secure to themselves the management of the northwest business during their lifetime. However, he thought four shares too many, and of course any decision would also have to be agreeable to the Wintering Partners.⁸

Alexander Henry was informed of the conversation between the two men by Andrew Todd, and wrote to Frobisher in a rage against Todd and McGill for leaving him out, declaring that he had a much better right to a share than they, and that he certainly expected to be included if any change in the North West Company should take place.⁹ William Grant, too, of Grant, Campion & Co., spoke out for the interests of his firm.¹⁰ Meanwhile, no further steps were taken by the opposition during the spring of 1792.¹¹ In London John Fraser was entirely of Frobisher's opinion and warned McTavish against "losing the laddle full for the lickings."¹² If they could insure against opposition by a compromise entailing a small sacrifice on their part, which indeed might prove no sacrifice at all, it would be preferable to the certain expense of repelling attacks and the risk of being obliged, in the end, to give double what would satisfy now.

No further information on the subject is to be found in the North

⁶Isaac Todd.

⁷F.3/1, fo. 31, Frobisher to McTavish, Dec. 8, 1791.

⁸*Ibid.*, fo. 33, Frobisher to McTavish, Dec. 8 (Private).

⁹*Ibid.*, fo. 35, Gregory to McTavish, Jan. 7, 1792.

¹⁰"From your Conversation two Evenings ago, I conclude that you have not been able to make any Settlement with the Gentlemen who intend going to the Northwest, but if you should come to a determination after my departure of admitting them to any share in the Concern I rely so much on Your Friendship, that I hope you will not Acquiesce in their demand to the exclusion of your other Friends." University of Montreal, The Bâby Papers, Box marked "Grant." The author is indebted to M. Joseph R. Leduc, the Librarian of the University of Montreal, for permission to use these papers.

¹¹F.3/1, fo. 37, Frobisher to McTavish, March, 1792.

¹²*Ibid.*, fo. 65, Fraser to McTavish, May 26, 1792.

West Company papers in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Archives, but it is evident from the preamble to the Agreement of 1795 that the matter was resolved on September 14, 1792, when the Agreement of 1790 was extended and the number of shares in the North West Company increased to forty-six. This modified Agreement was to last six years, or until 1798, instead of 1799. Twenty shares, by far the largest holding, were assigned to McTavish, Frobisher & Co. (Simon McTavish, Joseph Frobisher, William McGillivray,¹³ and John Gregory) with Alexander Mackenzie next with six shares. Two each went to the Houses of Todd, McGill & Co. and Forsyth, Richardson & Co., as also to Nicholas Montour, Daniel Sutherland, and Angus Shaw. The remaining ten shares went, one each, to Robert Grant, Cuthbert Grant, Roderick Mackenzie, Alexander Henry, Grant, Campion & Co., Alexander McLeod, Simon Fraser, William Thorburn, Robert Thompson, and James Finlay.¹⁴

The Agreement of 1792 did not rid the North West Company entirely of opposition, for a new partnership was formed in 1793 by David and Peter Grant, supplied by the Robertsons in Montreal and supported by Schneider in London.¹⁵ In this opposition there was some suspicion that Daniel Sutherland was implicated. William Grant wrote to McTavish on January 5, 1793, to tell him of the new partnership formed to oppose the North West Company, and added

¹³The appearance of McGillivray's name as a partner at this time is rather a mystery. Dr. Wallace says he became a partner in 1793, and this statement is borne out by the fact that his appointment was the subject of comment at the meeting at Grand Portage in 1794. Probably the explanation is that this list appears in the preamble to the Agreement of 1795 when McGillivray was actually a member of the firm.

¹⁴It is interesting to compare this Agreement with the paragraph quoted from the *Brief Account of the Fur-Trade to the Northwest Country* by Dr. Wallace in his chapter on Forsyth, Richardson & Co. in *The Pedlars from Québec* (Toronto, 1954), 57-8: "In 1792 . . . several respectable Houses in Montreal, supported by London commissions, jealous of the growing power of the NWCo. determined to compete for the trade. This was prevented by a compromise; and three shares (which were added to the twenty shares of stock) were given them as an equivalent for their expectations. The former articles of agreement, save in respect to the three shares, and the whole number which was doubled and increased to forty-six, remained unchanged." Instead of four shares in a 24-share concern, for which they had asked, the firms of Todd, McGill & Co. and Forsyth, Richardson & Co. settled for four shares in a 46-share concern, and one share each was given to Grant, Campion & Co., and Alexander Henry.

¹⁵F.3/1, fo. 121, Hallowell to McTavish, Jan. 18, 1793. At the time Schneider was apparently on bad terms with McTavish, Fraser & Co. None of the fur-trade Houses in London were very pleased with the fact that their northwest business had been taken from them by the Agreement of 1795. See *ibid.*, fo. 126, Gregory to McTavish, March 16, 1793.

that "some people . . . go still further by hinting that your good friend D.S. is to be concerned . . . the report is that he intends to sell out and then be concerned with the other Co. however I have no good authority for this part of the Business."¹⁶ There seems to have been some disagreement between Sutherland and McTavish, Frobisher & Co., for Frobisher wrote to McTavish on February 14, "I mentioned to you in one of my Letters of last Fall the interview I had with Sutherland, which was a very dry one—Report prevails here that he had already settled with Schnider & Pyn & Co. for to support him in this new intended opposition to the NWest, which I cannot believe. . ."¹⁷ and on April 25, when Sutherland had arrived in Montreal from London, he wrote again, "I have not nor do I mean to wait upon Sutherland until I know how far, he is intimate with the Robertsons. I am affraid this New Adventure is with an intention to pave his way & stand upon his own Ground in a future Day."¹⁸ Sutherland denied the connection¹⁹ but it seems significant that he was chosen in 1794 by the new Montreal firms in the North West Company²⁰ to represent their interests at Grand Portage, in opposition to the policy of McTavish, Frobisher & Co. who were represented by Gregory and William McGillivray.²¹

The meeting at Grand Portage in the summer of 1794 appears to have been a stormy one. First, there was the conflict between the Montreal firms. The new Houses wanted a curtailment of the trade because of the decline in the value of furs due to the war, and the unlikelihood of improvement in the near future.²² Hallowell, however, declared that their attitude was based on the fear that the ambitious plans of McTavish, Frobisher & Co. would ruin their separate interests, especially in the Mackinac trade.²³ Then the elevation of William McGillivray to a partnership in McTavish, Frobisher & Co. seems to have been resented by some of the Wintering Partners.²⁴ But the fundamental reason was evidently the discontent of the younger members of the North West Company

¹⁶*Ibid.*, fo. 119, Grant to McTavish, Jan. 5, 1793.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, fo. 122, Frobisher to McTavish, Feb. 14, 1793.

¹⁸Bâby Papers, Box F, Frobisher to McTavish, April 25, 1793.

¹⁹F.3/1, fo. 128, Hallowell to McTavish, April 25, 1793.

²⁰Todd, McGill & Co., Forsyth, Richardson & Co., Grant, Campion & Co., and Messrs. Henry & Co.

²¹F.3/1, fo. 151, Forsyth, Richardson & Co., Todd, McGill & Co., Grant, Campion & Co. and Alexander Henry to the Wintering Partners, May 9, 1794.

²²*Ibid.*

²³F.3/1 fo. 161, Hallowell to McTavish, June 19, 1794.

²⁴*Ibid.*, fo. 170, Duncan McGillivray to McTavish, July 26, 1794. Others did not agree. See *ibid.*, fo. 174, Simon Fraser to McTavish, July 29, 1794.

with the size of their interest in the business. Alexander Mackenzie presented their case to Frobisher in an interview early in November, 1794. He told Frobisher that the young partners were very dissatisfied with the small shares they held, and with the failure of McTavish to make good his promises on that score. They regretted that the latter had been exempted from going to the Portage²⁵ and they did not think that their affairs were well looked after in the matter of goods. They particularly complained of the guns and strouds, which were of such poor quality that the Indians would not buy them. Mackenzie proposed that nine shares should be provided, one each for Roderick Mackenzie, Cuthbert Grant, Simon Fraser, William Thorburn, Robert Thompson, Alexander McLeod, and James Finlay, who were already partners holding one share, and two for Venant St. Germain, who was not a partner and who was becoming more and more troublesome. In order to do this, he thought that Robert Grant, Nicholas Montour, and Patrick Small should each give up one share; he himself, out of his own and Peter Pangman's holdings, would be glad to give up three,²⁶ and three more should be found. Even then, there were others who believed themselves entitled to a share. Frobisher reported the interview in detail to McTavish and pointed out that by taking St. Germain into the Company and giving Mackenzie, Grant, and Fraser an additional share the concern would be relieved of their salaries.²⁷ He was of the opinion that if any sacrifices were to be made their House should bear a proportion.²⁸ It was this situation which led directly to the Agreement of 1795.

Among the North West papers in the Hudson's Bay Archives is the following memorandum signed by Alexander Mackenzie.

Wintering Partners

Angus Shaw	2	forty	Sixths
R. McKenzie	2	"	"
C. Grant	2	"	"
Alex. McLeod	2	"	"
Wm. Thorburn	2	"	"

These Gentlemen are Satisfied
with this arrangement.

²⁵By the Agreement of 1790, Article 4. Wallace, *Documents*, 86.

²⁶This is not clear since neither Small nor Pangman appear as holding shares under the Agreement of 1792, as listed in the preamble to the Agreement of 1795. But presumably the six shares listed under Mackenzie's name belonged to himself and Peter Pangman, and Small's may have been included in McTavish, Frobisher & Co.'s shares.

²⁷£ 400, £ 200, £ 200, and £ 100 respectively.

²⁸F.3/1, fo. 203, Frobisher to McTavish, Nov. 8, 1794.

S. Fraser	2	"	"	
*J. Finlay	2	"	"	14

Partners to Come In

D. McKenzie	1	"	"	
Wm. McKay	1	"	"	
V. St. Germain	1	"	"	
A. Fraser	1	"	"	
J. McDonald	1	"	"	
D. McGillivray	1	"	"	6

Todd McGill & Co.	}		
Forsyth Richardson & Co.			5
Nipigon			

Agents at Montreal &c. 14

Reserved by the Concern to Provide for young men in the Country according to their Merits & to remain to the whole Concern till they are so disposed of	}	7	
			46 Shares

*on Condition that he will relinquish one of his Shares to his Brother John at a determined period and Retire. This because he has not an Equal right with the present Partners on accot [*sic*] of their long Service

The Business to be Transacted in Montreal on the same terms as for the Present Concern the Comm. on the imports Excepted I had Messrs. Shaw McKenzie McLeod & Thorburn's opinion of the foregoing

ALEX. MCKENZIE

This memorandum is not dated but the paper is watermarked 1794 and on the back is written "Memorandum A McK on new arrangement N.W."²⁹ It differs slightly from both the proposals made to Frobisher in November, 1794, and the final Agreement of October, 1795, but it shows conclusively that Mackenzie's suggestions were the basis of the final settlement and that, as liaison between the Montreal and Wintering Partners, he played a decisive part in it. The absence of his own name from the list of North West partners under the new Agreement is explained by the fact that nine days after it was signed he was made a partner in the House of McTavish, Frobisher & Co.³⁰

²⁹F.3/2, fo. 106. This memorandum probably belongs to, or immediately after, the meeting at Grand Portage in 1795, since it not only shows that several of the Wintering Partners have been consulted but the name of Robert Thompson, who was to have had a second share under the first proposals, has disappeared from the list. He was killed in a quarrel with the Indians in the lower Churchill District in the winter of 1794-5.

³⁰Wallace, *Documents*, 95.

One of the notable features of Mackenzie's plan was the reservation of a number of shares to be disposed of by the Company as it should become desirable or necessary. In his memorandum he provided for the admission of six new partners, each holding one share, and seven shares were to be left at the disposal of the concern. Under the Agreement itself, however, nine partners were admitted, thereby reducing to four the number of unappropriated shares, and at Grand Portage in 1796 when the Agreement was accepted by the Wintering Partners, an extra share was awarded to the Agents in appreciation of the liberality of the settlement and in recognition of their large stake in the concern. Nevertheless both these steps, quite as much as the subsequent admission of other partners, represented the logical working-out of Mackenzie's scheme.

A word may be added concerning the other names which disappear from the North West Company in the Agreement of 1795. The partnership of Grant, Campion & Co. had been dissolved early in the year and its interests in Timiskaming were taken over by the North West Company. Two shares had been proposed for Venant St. Germain by Mackenzie in November, 1794, and he was assigned one in the memorandum, but he evidently retired from the fur trade in 1795.³¹ As he was married in November of that year and purchased a seigniory in 1796, presumably he had a competence and perhaps there was a romantic reason for his retirement. Whether Daniel Sutherland was dropped because of his somewhat equivocal position with respect to McTavish, Frobisher & Co. or whether he retired in dissatisfaction cannot be determined but in 1798 he joined the XY Company. Alexander Henry and his nephew sold their interest in the concern to William Hallowell in 1796 but again, whether their decision to do so was a preliminary to, or a result of the Agreement, it is impossible to say.

In spite of the advantages of its position as sole agents of the North West Company the further reduction of its holdings under the Agreement of 1795 must have represented some loss to McTavish, Frobisher & Co. but, as in 1792, the compromise was one of expediency. Undoubtedly the hope of the Agents was to make the name of the North West Company synonymous with the fur trade from Montreal and to consolidate its territory³² and personnel for the ensuing struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company. In this they were not successful. Under the new Agreement Todd, McGill

³¹These biographical details are taken from the Appendix to Wallace, *Documents*.

³²The acquisition of Timiskaming and the proposal concerning Nipigon in the Agreement.

& Co. and Forsyth, Richardson & Co. were assigned four shares, with a fifth to be added in consideration of their giving up their trade to Nipigon, but they do not appear to have accepted the proposals since their names are not among the signatories to the Agreement. Instead in 1799, the year in which the new Agreement was to commence, Forsyth, Richardson & Co. and two other Mont-real firms invaded the northwest as the New North West or XY Company, a step which was to have most serious consequences for the old Company.

TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT

KNOW ALL MEN by these presents, that by articles of Agreement bearing date the 24th day of July 1790 a certain Society Concern or Trading Company, was established under the Firm or Denomination of the North West Company, Whereby it was Agreed upon, by & between the persons, Sharers, & partners, in the Said Company, that they should under various, Covenants agreements, Rules, and regulations therein mentioned carry on a Trade on their joint account and risques to the Interior part of the Indian Country and particularly the North West., which Company was by said agreement to consist of Twenty shares, and continue for the Term of seven Years.—And whereas afterwards to wit, on the 14th day of September 1792 through various Motives and considerations,—and especially, for the furthering of the Interest of the Concerned and with a view to extend their commerce and Trade in the said Indian Country, in Such away [sic] as to Secure to the said parties, the advantages which the unwearied Labours of many of said parties for a Series of Years in that part of the World entitled them to; It was Specially agreed and Covenanted by and between them, to extend or increase the Number of partners in Said Company & Concern, and for that purpose to receive as partners certain other Persons in Said Agreement Mentioned, whereby the Company so augmented or extended was to consist [sic] of Forty Six Shares, and to continue under Special Covenants Agreements, Rules, & Regulations, for the Term of six years. And whereas the said Compy. have since the said 14th day of September 1792 carried on the said Trade on their joint accounts & risques, & have by their commercial Industry and Enterprize, obtained advantages in Said Indian Country which they are desirous of possessing and securing, and whereas the Term of said Last Company's Concern will cease and expire on the 30th day of November 1798.

NOW KNOW YE that the said last mentioned Company consisting of Forty Six Shares and actually carrying on that Trade is composed of the following Persons holding the following shares vizt.

Simon McTavish	under the Firm of McTavish Frobisher & Co.	Shares
Joseph Frobisher		
William McGillivray		
John Gregory		
Nicholas Montour		
Robert Grant		2
Daniel Sutherland		1
		2

Alexr Mackenzie	6
Angus Shaw	2
Cuthbert Grant	1
Roderic Mackenzie	1
Todd McGill & Co.	2
Forsyth Richardson & Co.	2
Alexr Henry	1
Grant Campion & Co.	1
Alexr McLeod	1
Simon Fraser	1
William Thorburn	1
Robert Thompson	1
James Finlay	1
	<hr/>
Shares	46

Article 1st

Be it therefore remembered that on this 30th day of October 1795 at Mountreal [sic] in Lower Canada, It was mutually Covenanted and Agreed upon by and between the parties to these presents, in manner following that is to say—Whereas the Term of said existing Company will expire with the returns of the outfit of 1798, and whereas the Parties to these presents conceive it for their mutual Benefit and advantage, that a Society or Company for carrying on the said beforementioned Trade after the expiration of the Term of the said existing company should be continued, upheld, & Continued, and foreseeing that other Persons or Companys may and are likely to be established in opposition thereto,—NOW KNOW YE that it is the true intent and meaning of these presents, and the parties hereunto specially Covenant and Agree to and with each other, and with their and each of their Executors Administrators [sic] and Assigns, in manner and form following, that is to say That the Society or Company now to be constituted and established by these Presents shall consist of Forty Six shares to be held and enjoyed by the following Persons, and on the following Terms and Conditions vizt.

Simon McTavish	}	McTavish Frobisher & Co.	14 Shares
Joseph Frobisher			
William McGillivray			
John Gregory			
Angus Shaw			2
Roderick McKenzie			2
Cuthbert Grant			2
Alexr. McLeod			2
William Thorburn			2
Simon Fraser			2
James Finlay			2
Todd McGill & Co.	}		5
Forsyth Richardson & Co.			
Daniel McKenzie			1
William McKay			1
John McDonald			1
Donald McTavish			1

Duncan McGillivray	1
John McDonnell	1
A N. McLeod	1
A McDougall	1
C: Chaboillez	1

42

unappropriated [*sic*] Shares

4

Shares

46

Article 2d

And it is the express intention of the Parties to these presents that the Four remaining unappropriated Shares shall appertain, and the Profits and Emoluments arising therefrom belong to the General Company or Concern, and the risques or losses if any Generally to be sustained thereby, unless a majority of Said Company shall think proper to dispose of the said Four Shares or any of them to such of the most deserving Clerks as they may see necessary & convenient [*sic*], or otherwise as they shall advise.

Article 3d

And whereas several of the beforementioned Persons whose Names are herein mentioned and set down as Partners in the said hereby established company are absent from this place, and being nominally only Parties to these presents may decline accepting the part or share assigned them therein, and the consequent Ratification of these Presents;—NOW KNOW YE, that then and in that case it is the express will of the parties to these presents, that such share or shares, as may be in said manner or otherwise declined or refused by said absent persons or any or either of them, shall appertain, and the profits thereof belong, to the General Company, in such manner and Form as the beforementioned four unappropriated shares.—

Article 4th

And whereas five of the shares in the said hereby establishd Company, are intended and will be offered to the Houses of Todd McGill & Co. and Forsyth Richardson & Co., or the Persons composing those Houses, now partners or Sharers, in the present existing North West Company, on or before the day of the commencement of the hereby established Company, and whereas the said Houses or either of them, or the persons composing the same, may on these presents being offered to them or either of them to be ratified and approved, refuse to accede thereto and decline their said share or proportion in and to the hereby established company that then and in that case, the said share or Shares so refused or declined as aforesaid shall appertain, and the Profits arising therefrom belong to the General Compy. in such manner & form as the beforementond four unappropriated Shares.

Art. 5th

And whereas the said Five shares mentioned in the preceding article have been reserved, and are at a future day to be offered to the beforementioned two Houses of Todd McGill & Co. and Forsyth Richardson & Co. or the persons then composing said Houses.—Now the Intention of offering the said Houses one share more than they actually hold in the present existing North

West Company is in consideration of their giving up all connection or Concern with any Person or Persons carrying on Trade to that part of the Indian Country called Nipigon and its Dependences or of Trading there themselves or by their Agents; But should the said two Houses refuse to give up said Connection or Concern or refuse to bind themselves as may be advised, not to Trade there themselves or by their Agents, then and in that case, the said Two Houses shall not be entitled to hold more than Two shares each in the said intended Company and for which two shares, the said Two Houses shall be accountable to the concern for the Salary of one clerk each (not exceeding £200 per annum) to transact their proportion of the Business in the North West.—But as the said two Houses have already manifested a desire of throwing in their Nipigon Trade to the General Concern, and may be inclined to accept there [*sic*] Five said shares as aforesaid then and in that case, they shall and will bind themselves to satisfy and allow to such person as shall be appointed by a majority of the Concern one of their said Five shares, which said Person shall be considered a Wintering partner, and shall superintend the Affairs of the Concern in the Nipigon Country and its dependancies, such person to be subject however to all the Rules & regulations for Manging [*sic*] this Concern as fully in every respect as any of the said Parties to these presents.

Art: 6th

Now it is the express intention of the parties to these presents that the Society or Company hereby established, shall Commence with the first Outfit in the year of our Lord 1799 and terminate with the returns of the Outfit in the year 1805, during which Term these presents, and all the matters and things herein contained, shall be considered as binding and effectual upon each of the said Parties for the purposes herein expressed. And whereas it is essentially necessary for the Interest of the said Company and for the Conduct and managment [*sic*] thereof when the same shall commence that Rules and Regulations be made, and agreed to for that purpose, It is hereby specially agreed and covenanted by and between the parties to these Presents that the House of McTavish Frobisher & Company or the persons composing the same at the period of the commencement of the hereby established Company, shall exclusively conduct and Mange the Concerns of said Company at Montreal, and shall Import the Goods, and Merchandizes necessary for the supply thereof, and shall make all the necessary advances, for Liquors, Provisions and Generally all other articles of the same nature, for which they shall be allowed to charge only the Current Market price in Montreal, for all which advances and trouble they shall be allowed to charge at the rate of Four per cent on the amount of the whole outfit at the close of each Year, and Interest at the rate of Five per cent per annum from the time the Goods Imported fall due in England,—That the said House shall however be allowed Interest at the rate of Six per Cent on all cash advances which may be by them considered necessary or expedient for the use or behalf of the Concern.

Art: 7th

That the Furrs Peltries or other produe [*sic*] or Returns of said Trade shall be Shipped to England or elsewhere by the said House of McTavish Frobisher & Company on account of the Concern and for the Mutual Benefit and advantage of the whole, for which they are to be allowed a commission of one

half per cent on the Amount, the neat proceeds of which Furrs, Pelletries or such other produce or Returns of said Trade shall be Credited to each Individual of the Company according to their respective Share or proportion therein, as soon as the same may be placed to the Credit of the Said House of McTavish Frobisher & Co. in England.

Art: 8th

That the affairs, Concerns & Business of the said Company on the Communication to and at the Grand Portage shall be conducted managed and carryed on by two of the Partners (at least of McTavish Frobisher & Company whoever the said House may then be composed of—) who shall annually go up to those countries for that special purpose.

Art: 9th

That in all cases of Controversy or difference of opinion in Matters relating to the Interest Conduct or Management of the present concern or the Affairs thereof Twenty Six votes shall be considered a Majority and their opinion decisive, which said Votes shall be given by the said parties and received by them in proportion to the Shares each party respectively holds in the Said Concern.—And it is expresly and specialy [*sic*] Stipulated and agreed that in all cases whatever of difficulty or contention, that the decision of said Majority shall be binding and effectual, and shall not in any manner be contradicted or opposed.

Art: 10th

That the Arrangements of all the Forts and Posts to be occupied by the Said Concern with their establishments shall be chosen, named, apportioned and Generally conducted and discribed by the Majority of the Concern present at Such arrangements, as well the Wintering Residence of the partners as that of Clerks and all other Matters incident thereto.

Art: 11th

That whereas Seven of the Partners in the Present existing Company, to wit Angus Shaw, Roderic McKinzie Cuthbert Grant, Alexr McLeod, William Thorburn, Simon Fraser & James Findlay, all absent from hence at this time, but who are included as partners for Two shares each, in the hereby intended to be established Compy.—It is agreed that whenever any of the said partners or such of them as may accede hereto, shall be desirous of retiring from the Business of said concern, they shall and are hereby admitted so to do, upon relinquishing to an able and deserving Clerk, who shall be named by the retiring Partner, but approved of by the said Company, one of the Shares he may then hold therein: (save and except James Finlay who having enjoyed advantages beyond the others, Shall relinquish one of his said Shares in said Concern previous to the outfit of the second Year, to his Brother John Finlay now a Clerk in the Indian Country.—provided his said Brother is desirous of accepting the same) which retiring & Relinquishment shall be upon the following Terms only vizt.—That his proportion of all the Goods in the Indian Country shall be accounted for to him by the Concern in behalf of his successor as follows, Those at the Grand Portage at the rate of 25 pCent on the Montreal Cost & advance, those at every other post in the North-West, except

the English River and the posts beyond it at the rate of 57 pCent on that cost and advance; those at the English River & the posts beyond it, at the rate of 90 pCent on the cost & advance of the Grand Portage—That all Debts due by Guides, Men or Interpreters shall be accounted for at one third of their amount, the Debts of the Clerks at their full value, and it is expressly considered as a Rule to be adopted, that all the Forts and Buildings at the Grand Portage and in the Country,—Vessels, Boats, Cattle or any other property of and belonging to the Company on the Communication, shall be accounted for conformable to the prices or value affixed to the same by the Majority of the Concern the preceeding [*sic*] year, in the Inventories for that purpose made, and that for all such property or the proportion thereof the Concern shall not be bound to account untill one Year after the accounts thereof shall be closed.

Art: 12th

And it is the express agreement of the parties that all the other Partners included in the present intended to be established Company who may wish to retire before the expiration of the concern, shall be permitted so to do upon the condition, that they dispose of their Share to the other part of the Concern only, and that their share or proportion of the property not realized, shall be accounted for to them upon the Terms mentioned in the preceeding article.

Art: 13th

That three of the Wintering partners shall be allowed to come down to Montreal each year in Rotation, agreeable to a List for that purpose to be made by a Majority of the said Concern, Those Persons who now are Partners in the present existing Company and who may accede to these presents as partners in the said intended Company having a preference, and are therefore to be considered as first in rotation, but in case any difficulty should arise among the said Persons first in Rotation the same shall be decided by Ballot, It is however agreed that sickness or other unforeseen accidents are always to be excepted, in which case a Majority of the Concern shall determine upon such measures as may appear to them most for the Interest of the whole.—But in all cases when any of the Partners aforesaid shall come down in Rotation or otherwise, it is upon the express condition that He or They shall be in readiness to return the ensuing spring to attend to the duties of the different departments that may be allotted to him or them, at such time or times, as may be judged necessary by the Partners conducting the Business at Montreal;—In failure whereof on the part of the person or Persons so coming down and refusing or neglecting to return when thereto required, by any of the Partners Conducting the Business at Montreal, It is Specially covenanted and agreed, that such person or Persons shall forfeit every right, or pretention he or they might or could have as a Partner in the said Concern, save and except when the said Person or Persons can or may offer such reasonable cause or excuse as may be deemed sufficient by a Majority of said Concern.

Art: 14th

The present Agreement being intended for the purpose solely of carrying on and extending a Commerce or Trade to all and every part of the Indian Countries, wherever may be Judged most for the Common Interest of the Concern, and

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whereas some or all of the said parties to these presents may be otherwise connected in Trade or business of a different Nature, now it is the possitive [sic] Agreement of the said parties that they shall not, in any Manner [sic] be Responsible for each other, nor shall the Act of One involve the other, it being hereby Expressly stipulated, that none of the said parties have by virtue of these presents any power or authority to Sign or Contract Debts for, or on Account, or in the name of any other of the said parties, without special power for that purpose first had and obtained.

Art: 15th

And to the end that a frugal distribution of the property and effects of the Concern may be observed, it is hereby expressly understood, that all or every of the said parties or the persons under them who Winter in the Interior Country's [sic] shall deliver or send to the Grand Portage every Year, or oftner if possible or requisite, a true faithfull and exact Account or Inventory of all the Goods, provisions, or other effects they may have remaining on hand as well as of all the Pelletries or Canoe Men they may have left in the Country, with Just and true Accounts of the Expenditure of Goods committed to their Charge and Direction, It being the intention that neither the said parties that Winter in the Land or either of them [sic], or those who go up from Montreal on the Business of the Concern, shall be allowed while there, out of the Common Stock, more than their personal necessities, but that all and whatever may be expended by them or either of them exceeding this limitation shall be accounted for by them, or either of them respectively.

Art: 16th

It is Expressly stipulated and agreed, that in all cases where any difficulty or Contention may arise respecting the Interests of said Concern, and where the same cannot be decided & finally Concluded for want of Concurrence of Twenty Six Votes that then such difficulty or Contention shall be submitted to the award of Four Indifferent Persons, Conversant in the nature of the business, who shall have power to name an Umpire in case they disagree in Opinion, whose Umpirage shall be held taken and Considered as final and binding upon the said parties to these presents

Art. 17th

It being incompatible [sic] with the nature of this Agreement and the Trade to be carried on under it, that all or any of the said parties should engage in or undertake any Concern to the detriment of the Interests of the present Company, or that can in any manner affect the Trade, Views, or Speculations thereof; It is hereby mutually Covenanted and Agreed upon by and between the parties to these Presents, and they hereby each for himself his Heirs, Executors & Administrators do covenant and Agree to and with the other of the said parties their Heirs, Executors and Assigns, they shall not, nor shall any or either of them enter into, or engage in any Trade to any part of the Indian Country called the North West, or Nipigon or their dependencies other than the present concern, and during the period of its limitation, under the penalty of FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS for each Forty Sixth share to be paid by the party failing or contravening this special Agreement, to the other partners of the

said Company who have or may conform thereto.—And it is also by these presents specially agreed, that if any of the said parties shall at any time retire from or sell out his Share of the said concern, he shall be equally bound and liable to the penalty of the aforesaid Article as if he had continued a Partner.

Art: 18th

That if it should so happen at any time during the said Concern, that any of the said parties to these presents shall have or be entitled to a greater or larger sum proceeding from the profits of this concern than may be necessary or requisite for the payment of their proportion of the Outfits, that the said House of McTavish, Frobisher & Co. shall be accountable to them or either of them, for Interest on the said surplus at the Rate of Five per Cent pr annum.

Art: 19th

That the Accounts of each Years Outfits shall be regularly closed after the Outfit made by the House conducting that business in Montreal, and Accounts Current shall be annually forwarded to the respective Parties to be by them signed and Interchanged—

Art 20th

That if at the Period of the Expiration of the present Concern, it shall not be judged convenient or necessary to prolong the same, it shall and may in that Case, and it hereby is deemed and considered Expedient that such further steps shall be adopted for the closing this Adventure or Concern, as to the Majority thereof shall appear proper and best calculated for the end desired without subjecting nevertheless the said parties or either of them to any loss or risk other than the Necessary Charge and Risque of collecting the outstanding Property Debts & Effects

Art: 21st

And Whereas from the remote situation of many of the said Parties and their Distance from each other and the consequent possibility of any or either of the said Parties conducting him or themselves in a manner to injure the said Concern or its Interests, It is expressly agreed upon and it is the Intention of the Parties to these presents, that where such Conduct or Neglect shall appear to a Majority of said Company or Concern, and be by them so expressed, the said party or parties so neglecting or conducting themselves or who shall otherwise render themselves incapable or unworthy of continuing a Partner in this Concern or Company, shall be subject to be expelled the same, and not to hold, take, enjoy, or be entitled to any of the profits arising thereafter from said Concern, but shall be considered as no longer a Partner of this Company nor in any manner or way connected therein.—

Art 22nd

And Whereas previous to the Commencement of said Concern it may be deemed necessary by the said House of McTavish Frobisher & Company to alter, change, add to, or diminish the present partners of that House, Yet it

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is the True intent and meaning of the parties to these presents, that whatever alteration or Change may take place therein, it is throughout this Agreement (when the said House or Firm is mentioned) understood to be the persons Composing the House of McTavish Frobisher & Company at the period of the commencement of this present agreement, and not the persons composing the Present House of McTavish Frobisher & Company.

In Witness whereof the Parties present in Montreal have hereto This Thirtieth Day of October 1795 set their Hands and Seals

Signed	{	LS Simon McTavish
		LS Joseph Frobisher
		LS Wm. McGillivray
		LS John Gregory
		LS Alexr. McKenzie for Angus Shaw
		LS Alexr. Mackenzie for Rodk. Mackenzie
		LS Alexr. Mackenzie for Cuth: Grant
		LS Alexr. Mackenzie for Alexr. MacLeod
		LS Alexr. Mackenzie for Wm. Thorburn

Signed & Sealed by the said Simon McTavish, Joseph Frobisher, Wm. McGillivray and John Gregory and Alexr. McKinzie [sic] as Attorney of Angus Shaw, Roderick McKenzie, Cuthbert Grant, Alexr. McLeod and William Thorburn in the presence of us

Signed	{	LS J. Walker
		LS Charles Brant

We hereby accept the share herein assigned to us in the said Company, under the Conditions & Stipulations therein specified, and Expressed, and do therefore ratify & Confirm the within articles as fully to all intents and purposes as If we had been personally present at Montreal at the sealing and delivery thereof

And further it is expressly and unanimously agreed upon by these presents, In Consideration of their exertions, from a sense of the liberal plan upon which this Agreement is founded, and the large Capital the House of McTavish, Frobisher & Company are under the necessity of supplying for carrying on to advantage this great and extended Business: That the aforesaid House shall be and hereby are allowed one additional Forty Sixth Share, out of the four Unappropriated Shares already mentioned in the above agreement, which will encrease [sic] the Shares of the said House to Fifteen Forty Sixths.

It is also resolved & agreed upon unanimously that the power given to McTavish, Frobisher & Company in Article Seventh of this Agreement, to Export the Furs and property of the Company, is by these presents limited to Great Britain and the United States of America, otherwise than that by the consent of the concern it should be extended to other Countries.

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outfit of the Year 1799—subject to all the Rules regulations and Penalties therein Contained—He the said Æneas Cameron after the perusal & due Consideration of said Agreement, fully approves thereof; binding himself his Heirs and Administrators to observe all and every of the Clauses, Conditions & Stipulations therein Contained in as full and ample a manner as If his name had Originally been inserted with the other parties to these Presents

In Witness whereof the said Æneas Cameron has hereunto set his Hand and Seal at Montreal this 23rd Day of October One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Eight.

Signed & Sealed in the presence of

(Signed) Æneas Cameron

Signed J. C. Stewart

John K. Welles

The undersigned Alexr. McDougall being absent at the time of the Ratification of this Agreement by the parties whose Names were originally inserted, does now after the perusal and due consideration thereof Accept of the Share therein allotted to him—Ratifying & Confirming the said Agreement in as full and ample a manner as If he had been personally present at the sealing and delivering thereof—

In Witness whereof he has hereunto set his hand and Seal at Montreal this 26th Day of August 1799

In presence of

Signed Alexr. MacDougall

Signed L. Solomon

J: G: Beck

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The French Canadians, 1760-1945. By F. MASON WADE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1955. Pp. xvi, 1136. \$6.00.

MASON WADE, the author of this monumental new study of the French Canadians, is admirably suited to undertake so difficult a task. Drawn many years ago into an interest in French Canada through the pages of Francis Parkman, he wrote first a stimulating biography of that great English-speaking historian of French-English relations in North America and then produced a scholarly edition of Parkman's journals. The present volume, to which Wade has given ten years of research and writing, may well be regarded as the continuation of Parkman's theme, from the Seven Years' War to the end of the Second World War. As a New Englander of Yankee background and yet a Roman Catholic Mr. Wade is both in the Parkman tradition and at the same time closer to the French Canadians than his illustrious predecessor, able to stand somewhat aside from the quarrels of Canadians, and still, because of his vast knowledge of the French Canadian and of his religious faith, able to paint a sympathetic and understanding picture of their history. Few English-speaking persons today, Canadian or American, can rival Mr. Wade's extensive and intimate acquaintance with French Canadians and French Canada.

The author's aim has been "to explain why the French Canadians live, think, act, and react differently from English-speaking North Americans." The unifying theme in this history is to be found in French-Canadian efforts to preserve their own cultural identity against all the pressures, conscious and unconscious, which have tended to drive them towards conformity and absorption into the dominant culture of the continent. Since this is so, special heed has been paid to the story of *nationalisme*, the varying fortunes and forms of which offer historically the most useful indication of the temper of mind in French Canada. Political and constitutional developments comprise the backbone of the story but intellectual and cultural, economic and social events have been interwoven with the traditional pattern in an unusual and fruitful way. It is a complex, varied, and colourful picture of the life of a people that emerges.

To have chosen to start a detailed study of French Canada at 1760 will seem to many French Canadians, at least, as unconventional, perhaps unfortunate. Mr. Wade, however, feels that the story of the period of New France is amply known so he devotes only 44 pages to it. But this opening chapter is a brilliant and balanced summary of the origins of French Canada and of the traditions which have provided its social and cultural framework ever since. His insistence on the Jansenist ethic as one of these traditions is a fresh insight; and his pointing out of certain traditional French-Canadian weaknesses, such as a "lack of civic consciousness," is new. The author's development of his theme from 1760 to 1867 follows the well-worn path of Canadian political and constitutional history but his careful portrayal of the mixed feelings and attitudes amongst both British and French Canadians, resulting in varying and conflicting policies at different moments, gives both a more complex and a more believable picture of events than the black and white one so often encountered. Yet balance and moderation are not the only characteristics of Mr. Wade's writing, for his description of the stirring events of 1849 leading to the burning

of the Parliament Building in Montreal is one of the most exciting I have read. In this part, too (pp. 284-308), appears a lengthy appraisal of Garneau, Crémazie, Gérin-Lajoie, and other writers who played so great a role in the emergence of a French-Canadian "nation." To English Canadians this will be a distinctly fresh slant.

If devoting only a summary chapter to New France will seem unconventional the fact that at page 331 in a book of 1136 pages we have already arrived at Confederation will appear far more so. The throwing of the weight of discussion on to the post-Confederation period—indeed, more than half of the book concerns the twentieth century—is one of the most unusual features of this work. As we proceed from Confederation to the First World War the thing that will strike English-Canadian readers, even more than the appearance of so many *nationaliste* leaders and groups, will be the revelation of serious divisions in the Catholic hierarchy over ultramontane and liberal policies, divisions that have all sorts of ramifications. These, along with the appearance of figures like Arthur Buies, "lone wolf and maverick" and "rebel against the established order," again introduce that note of human complexity into the scene that has so often been lacking when French and English Canadians write about each other. This pattern continues through the rest of the book. Unfortunately, however, all pattern becomes somewhat blurred as we launch into the twentieth century because of the great increase in the tonnage of facts. This detail reaches a peak in the discussion of the wartime debates on conscription in both world wars. To serve as clues to French-Canadian reactions to events the views of various leaders, political, religious, cultural, are given very freely, along with the attitude of their own people and of English Canadians to them. In the last period, after the First World War, Canon Lionel Groulx serves as such a weathercock. Mr. Wade's long analysis of Groulx's aims and work, that begins on page 867, is the most penetrating I have ever read. During the Second World War the impact of industrialization upon the Province of Quebec becomes especially acute, and the author's description, for instance, of the effects of this in the Lake St. John-Saguenay area around Arvida as a striking example of what is taking place, will again constitute a fresh and revealing picture for English-Canadian readers.

At the end, in 1945, Mr. Wade finds a "new French Canada" emerging from "cultural colonialism," "learning to be itself instead of a provincial imitation of France," "more fully and consciously integrated into both North American and international life" but still "determined to assert its Frenchness and Catholicity in the midst of what it regarded as an Anglo-Saxon and Protestant civilization." Swept by industrialization and demands for social change French Canadians were beginning to turn somewhat away from "traditional leaders," with a resulting clash between "two mentalities: a Bourbon-like determination on the part of much of the traditional élite to maintain the old closed world, regardless of changed conditions, the attitude of a frozen mind which had learned nothing and forgotten nothing; and on the other hand a widespread desire among the younger intellectuals and the newly emancipated workers, prompted by recognition of worldwide social changes and particularly of French experiences, to evolve a new social order incorporating what the outside world had to offer with the best of French Canadian tradition."

Primarily this book is a work of synthesis, and it is as such that it may be

considered a major contribution to the study of Canadian history. A vast amount of information that has hitherto been scattered through government documents, newspapers, journals, and many books is here brought together for the first time. Since the larger part of the material that has been used has been French Canadian, the novelty of Mr. Wade's work will appear chiefly to English Canadians. Both primary sources and secondary works have been intensively worked by the author but one noticeable gap appears; apparently Mr. Wade has not consulted the Laurier Papers. It is possible, however, that these were not available at the time he was working on that section.

Will this book contribute to the better understanding between French and English in Canada which the author hopes for? I would say, yes, but perhaps not as directly as he may desire. It is too long and too detailed for that. Had he maintained the proportions which he held to as far as 1867 this would have been a good book for the general reader, and its influence would have been wide and direct. But when he decided to include almost entire parliamentary debates, and to incorporate the great detail that he has in the later period he made it a book of reference, valuable for students (how many student essays will be written on the basis of Mr. Wade's chapters?), for professors, and the more serious of readers. Through them its ideas will slowly percolate, and perhaps the surer for that if somewhat indirectly and gradually. There will probably be many complaints aroused amongst extremists in both French and English Canada for Mr. Wade does not hesitate to offer sharp judgments, which are mostly directed against extremist opinions and actions. Though he sets forth the facts meticulously he does not really stand wholly apart. Who could in so controversial a matter? His sympathies are obviously with men like Lafontaine, Laurier, and Mackenzie King, men who believe in co-operation between French and English in Canada on an equal basis. Those who do not approve of this will doubtless attack the book.

It is a pity that all this material had to be published in one volume. In other days it would have been at least a three-volume set. It is certainly a publishing achievement to bring it out at so moderate a price but in order to do so the publishers have had to give us a bulky book of packed pages whose close print will make many readers turn away. In compensation there are many excellent illustrations, a large number of which are black and white reproductions of French-Canadian paintings which give an interesting introduction to this side of French-Canadian cultural life. One final query: why, in a book designed to foster further enquiry, is there no bibliography?

Yet, whatever its shortcomings, Mr. Wade's work remains a very significant and highly valuable assessment of the historic role of the French Canadians in Canadian life. No students of Canadian history, nor anyone who wishes to understand that most important of all Canadian issues, the relations of French and English, can afford to be without this book.

The University of Toronto

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The Great War for the Empire: The Culmination 1760-1763. The British Empire before the American Revolution, vol. VIII. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited]. 1954. Pp. xxxii, 313, xlix. \$8.25.

THIS book represents the grand climax of an impressive series on "The British Empire before the American Revolution"—an achievement that would seem to

justify, abundantly in this instance, that rare institution, a research chair in history. Readers of this and other volumes are likely to agree with Professor S. E. Morison that the series will remain "an indispensable work of reference," although not many will be "captivated" by such closely woven and detailed narratives.

For this final, world-wide *tour de force* Professor Gipson has soaked himself in the printed sources, a variety of the secondary works, and a substantial selection of documentary sources. His writing is not lavish nor bejewelled—there are no great moving passages as in Parkman, nor any strikingly original interpretations; but the work is well integrated, it is magnificently comprehensive and possesses the quality of mature scholarship. No book that I have read gives a finer perspective of the concluding phases of the Seven Years' War. From the decisive battle of Quiberon Bay, the narrative moves to the Continent; thence to privateering and "island hopping" in the Caribbean; thence to India, where there is an excellent summary of events leading to Plassey and the surrender of Pondicherry. Relations with Spain leading to the Spanish declaration of war in January, 1762, are dealt with in chapters x and xi, large portions of which are based on a close study of the relevant documents. The concluding chapter (xii) of some thirty pages on the return of peace is, in view of the complexity of the issues involved, an over-abbreviated summary of the anti-climatic and years, 1762–3.

Professor Gipson is most successful in dealing with military and naval campaigns; on the other hand, his diplomatic and political history (on which so much has already been written) is intended chiefly as background for the Great War. The major underlying theme of the book is summed up in the author's somewhat ponderous description of the fall of Pondicherry early in 1761. "Like the ruins of Louisburg, those of Pondicherry not only epitomize the blasting of the eighteenth-century dream of an expanding French empire but also point to the tremendous significance of the attainment by the British navy, by the beginning of the year 1758, of a degree of supremacy on the high seas that in each instance, working as it did in full harmony with the British land forces, paved the way for the subjugation of the enemy both in the New World and in the Far East" (p. 171). Or again, on the work of the Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean: "So dependent, indeed, were the French in India, as well as the British there, on maintaining an oceanic connection with their respective homelands that any serious stoppage of it would mean nothing less than the utter ruin of their enterprises. Herein lies the supreme importance of the activities of the little squadrons of d'Aché and Pocock along the Coromandel Coast. . . ." (p. 147)

Such conclusions would suggest a grasp of fundamental strategy that has been accepted as basic dogma since the days of Julian Corbett. (Moreover, the author seems to know his seamen well—Keppel, Rodney, and Pocock, for example—and to understand the difficulties with which they had to contend.) None the less, having boldly enunciated the enduring principle of command of the sea, he fails to make the most of its implications. The destruction of the Brest fleet in Quiberon Bay may have ended "the dream of the French conquest of England," but it also sealed the fate of Quebec and Canada. By smashing Conflans' fleet, Hawke ensured British control of Atlantic sea routes for the last major campaign in North America.

Similarly, in regard to the defence of Newfoundland, Professor Gipson remarks: "It is clear that to Pitt the real defence of the island must rest upon

superior sea power in that area and not in fortifications or land forces. But he did not bring about, while in office, any naval concentration there, though it is true that shortly before his retirement from office he urged the necessity of sending four ships of the line to it." (p. 270) In the long run, however, as Pitt well knew, British possession of Newfoundland depended not on local, or *area*, superiority (although such might prevent raids and temporary occupations, as in 1762), but on command in the main theatre—the Channel; and throughout the wars with France, British governments had rightly refused to be diverted from their main tasks of blockade with the prospect of decisive battle. Pitt was probably the first statesman to understand fully and to practise this doctrine of command.

Hence, it seems to this reviewer that Professor Gipson takes over-seriously Pitt's remark, made at the end of the war, that "America was conquered in Germany" (p. 291) and does an injustice to contemporary historians in suggesting that "most writers of history have uncritically accepted" this myth so capriciously established by Pitt. (Undoubtedly, Sir Winston Churchill or any other great statesman could be caught out in similar over-simplifications.) There still remains a good deal to be learned about the relationship between British continental and maritime strategy, but within the last fifty years or so maritime considerations have certainly not been ignored; indeed, some historians have still to be reminded of the vital importance of expensive Continental allies in winning the Second (as well as the First) British Empire. What the enemy lost on the seas, they might well retrieve at the peace table. As long as France could win victories on the Continent, retain a hold on the Low Countries, or occupy Hanover, she could always enter the "peace market" with valuable bargaining counters.

Admittedly, as the author rightly contends, Pitt was "the great champion of the security of the Empire" (p. 209). Not until Pitt came to power was the conquest of enemy overseas colonies an avowed object of British strategy. On the other hand, this reviewer feels more and more strongly that Pitt's assault on the French empire was based partly on mercantilist joys of acquisition, on the theory of "beggar my neighbour," partly on a desire to relieve the Thirteen Colonies, and chiefly on an almost fanatical urge to weaken France in Europe. By totally eliminating the French empire, Pitt intended to safeguard the traditional European balance of power. He seemed convinced that the destruction of French overseas commerce, based as it was on colonial possessions, would set the seal on Britain's home security. The French historian Waddington, whose *Guerre de Sept Ans* the author has properly made much use of, hit the nail on the head when he described Pitt's war aims: "To humiliate France, to ruin her commerce, to destroy her marine, he had no other end and did not hide it."

For the war at sea, Professor Gipson has relied heavily on Robert Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs*, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*; the Pocock Letters at the Huntington Library have been used; there are occasional references to the Shelburne Papers in the Clements Library, and to Colonial Office and War Office materials in the Public Record Office. Sometimes, however, these citations strike one as a little perfunctory. For some curious reason, the Admiralty In-Letters (Adm.1), of which transcripts are available in the Library of Congress, have not been used, and in such a detailed and splendidly conceived volume it is hard to understand why, for example, Rodney's or Hawke's

despatches to the Admiralty should not have been investigated at first hand, rather than through the medium of Beatson and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, however reliable they may be.

This book, like its predecessors, is beautifully produced; the index is first rate, and the illustrations clear and effective. Professor Gipson is to be congratulated on a great achievement. With the publication recently of an additional, companion volume, *The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775* he places himself in the neighbourhood of that great nineteenth-century breed of indomitable, generous, and humane historians. If this work shows any bias, it lies in the author's subtle, but none the less evident faith in the ultimate values of British imperialism, and in the virtues of British character as revealed in British achievements on land and sea—a rather refreshing weakness which must endear him to all national champions in the art of "beating the dead horse."

GERALD S. GRAHAM

King's College, University of London

The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-1782, with an Appendix of Original Documents. Edited by WILLIAM B. WILLCOX. New Haven: Yale University Press [Toronto: Burns and MacEachern]. 1954. Pp. lii, 658. \$9.50.

SIR HENRY CLINTON, second in command to Sir William Howe from the fall of 1775 to the spring of 1778 and then commander-in-chief until replaced by Sir Guy Carleton in the spring of 1782, spent the last twelve years of his life composing a heavily documented history of the American Revolutionary War, and he died just before his manuscript was ready for the printer. Now it is published for the first time, and it is of prime historical importance for several reasons. It is the only comprehensive account of the war by one who exercised high command in it. It is much more than a story of military events, for it deals with what lay behind them—problems of strategy, logistics, finance, politics, personal relations between commanders, and the wavering loyalty of American civilians. It throws a flood of light upon British operations in the war, and also illumines some American operations. It reveals that the British were as responsible for losing the war as were the Americans, with French aid, for winning it. The only other commander on either side who could have written a comparable book was George Washington, and he had more important things to do.

This is the apologia of a general whose professional career was crowned by failure. Defeat in war is hard for any nation to bear, and commonly calls for a scapegoat. British public opinion naturally blamed the commander-in-chief for the disaster in America, and on returning to England Clinton demanded a parliamentary inquiry so that he might be heard in his own defence. This being denied, he took to his pen to redeem his military reputation—at the expense of others, chiefly Cornwallis. Therefore the narrative is chronologically unbalanced and personally biased. The first half, beginning with Bunker Hill and the writer's part in that engagement, covers five years; and the second half is devoted almost wholly to Cornwallis' independent command and behaviour from June, 1780, to his capitulation in October, 1781. The bias is obvious, for the facts, with which Clinton rarely tampered, are there and in

the supporting documents. Though he was wrong in believing that he was always right, there is no denying that his mind had a keen grasp of the military problems confronting him and that to a great extent he was the victim of circumstance. But he also unwittingly reveals that he contributed to his own failure as a commander, by his excessive caution, his shrinking from responsibility, and his incapacity to inspire co-operation.

The value of Clinton's compilation is greatly enhanced by the meticulous care with which Professor Willcox has edited it. The manuscript text was overwhelmed by voluminous notes and was to have been burdened by a heap of others, which were preserved on loose sheets, or lost, or never prepared. The jumble has now been sorted out and supplemented. Clinton's shorter notes and the editor's notes are printed in the text. The longer notes, documents and extracts from documents, have been arranged chronologically and relegated to an appendix of 226 pages, which also includes some pertinent documents that the editor has culled from the Clinton Papers. The editor's forty-page introduction gives a penetrating appraisal of Clinton, the man and the commander, that is a masterpiece of analysis.

A. L. BURT

The University of Minnesota

Michigan in Four Centuries. By F. CLEVER BALD. Line drawings by WILLIAM THOMAS WOODWARD. New York: Harper & Brothers [Toronto: Musson Book Company Limited]. 1954. Pp. xiv, 498. \$5.00.

THIS book is a detailed account of the political, economic, social, and cultural development of Michigan from the earliest times to the year 1950, written by the assistant director of the Michigan Historical Collections and lecturer on the history of the state at the University of Michigan. Published under the auspices of the Michigan Historical Commission, and financed from a fund established for the purpose by a bequest of the late Dr. John M. Munson, president of Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, *Michigan in Four Centuries*—as stated by the author—is “directed to the adult as well as to the youthful resident of the state.” Few concessions have been made to the youthful reader, however, except for a certain amount of informality in style at times and an elaboration on the more colourful aspects of the history. Because of the general style, the organization, and the amount of technical detail, it seems likely that the book will appeal primarily to the adult, whether general reader or scholar, who seeks an objective, trustworthy, and informative history of Michigan.

The arrangement is basically chronological, with a modified topical treatment within each of five periods of approximately equal length following the American occupation in 1796. The history of mining, lumbering, agriculture, transportation, the automobile industry and general industrial development, is carefully described, but political and social affairs are not less well done. Dr. Bald has based his work on an extensive knowledge of the primary as well as the secondary sources for the history of the state. The evidence relating to controversial subjects has been carefully considered, resulting in a judicious and impartial treatment, while the author does not hesitate to express his opinions where necessary. Local history is well integrated with national and world affairs, although the Canadian reader will find that the account of the

Rebellion of 1837 gives a somewhat erroneous impression because of its brevity. The last part of the book, from the beginning of the depression of the 1930's to 1950, is especially well done, in view of the fact that much of the history of this period does not appear in earlier histories of Michigan, and the sources are scattered, though voluminous.

FRED C. HAMIL

Wayne University

The Barley and the Stream: The Molson Story. By MERRILL DENISON. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited. 1955. Pp. xvi, 398, illus. \$5.00.

THIS volume is a significant contribution to Canadian economic history and to the story of the rise of Montreal. Above all it is the record of a family that has been active in the life of Canada for nearly a hundred and seventy-five years. The Molsons have been prominent in industry, transportation, finance, the defence of Canada by force of arms, and in a wide variety of philanthropic and public services.

Mr. Denison tells the story mainly in terms of personalities. The first John Molson (1763-1836) came to Canada in 1782 and almost immediately entered the brewing business which was the basis of his fortune. Yet brewing was but one of many important economic ventures. Molson was the pioneer steamboat proprietor on the St. Lawrence. He launched the *Accommodation* in 1809 only two years after Robert Fulton's *Clermont* at New York. He was a friend of Fulton and James Watt and his second vessel, the *Swiftsure*, had a Boulton and Watt engine. Molson was largely responsible for the establishment of the St. Mary's foundry, which supplied the engines for the famous *Royal William*, the first ship to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam. His other ventures included two hotels (the Mansion House and the New Mansion House), the Theatre Royal, and some participation in the politics of Lower Canada.

Molson's three sons were all active and able and carried the family fortunes to new heights. John the Younger (1787-1860) was interested in banking and finance. It was mainly through his efforts that the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad was opened from Laprairie to St. John's in 1836. He played a prominent part on the loyalist side in the Rebellion of 1837 and served on the special council for Lower Canada after the Rebellion. Thomas, the second son (1791-1863), was the production man of the family and mainly responsible for the entry of the Molsons into the distilling business that they carried on until 1866. William, the third son, had a long and successful career as the president of Molson's bank, which the family established in 1855.

In the second half of the book the author carries the story of the Molsons from the late nineteenth century to the present. He shows how, in the modern period, the Molsons of the fourth and fifth generations have been able to adjust their business to changing taste in beer and to the demands of a vastly increased market. Through it all, he shows the recurrence of the same pattern in the character and achievements of successive generations of Molsons.

Mr. Denison has organized his story well and he tells it with skill. Parts of it could have been developed at greater length, particularly the banking

activities of the Molsons. This aspect of the subject might well be developed in a more specialized work.

The author has shown how the *élan* and the fortunes of the family have been maintained over a long period. The Molsons have been people of character, conscious of the family tradition. In every generation there have been some members of the family primarily interested in the brewery and others who developed their talents in new fields. Thus they have combined diversity of enterprise with continuity and stability.

D. C. MASTERS

Bishop's University

Bugles on the Border. By HARRY F. LANDON. Watertown: *Watertown Daily Times*. 1954. Pp. vi, 74, illus.

THIS is a history of northern New York in the War of 1812 which deals fully with the naval campaigns on Lake Ontario and with the military operations connected with Sackets Harbor and Oswego, but not with the conflict in the Niagara Peninsula. As there is much repetition, and as the amphibious operations at York, Oswego, and Sackets are dealt with separately and not in the chronological narrative, it seems likely that the book is built up from separate articles.

Mr. Landon, an American newspaper man, sees what American popularizers rarely see, namely that the war on Lake Ontario was vastly more important than the more spectacular campaigns on Lakes Erie and Champlain; but, while properly excusing Yeo's caution, he is overcritical of Chauncey's "timidity." In assessing the probable course of events if the war had continued, he neglects to take into account one of the British ships-of-the-line, the *Wolfe*, which was on the stocks at Kingston; but he accepts the old story that *two* frigates had been brought up the St. Lawrence, whereas there is positive evidence of *one* only. He speculates that the whole American fleet was "mothballed" by being sunk in the lake after the war. This is unlikely. A similar legend about the British fleet is now known to be erroneous.

The chief contribution in this book is Mr. Landon's use of the Parish Papers which are in St. Lawrence University Library. They include material on smuggling before the war and on fraternization across the border during the war. According to Mr. Landon, red-coated British soldiers were frequently seen in Ogdensburg and were entertained in the homes of some Americans who refused to let the war interfere with their social life. He shows, however, that, when invasion threatened, the New York militia rallied patriotically to the defence of Sackets Harbor. It seems likely that a few incidents of fraternization are given undue weight in this book.

The book is plentifully illustrated with reproductions of contemporary pictures. In this respect it has several notable omissions, for instance Vidal's picture of the American fleet at Sackets Harbor in 1815, Hewitt's prints of the attack on Oswego in 1814, and Viger's plan of the Sackets attack in 1813. These would have served Mr. Landon's purpose better than some of the illustrations he actually used; but as they are Canadian in origin and location he may not have known of them.

R. A. PRESTON

The Royal Military College of Canada

The Welland Canal Company: A Study in Canadian Enterprise. By HUGH G. J. AITKEN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Co. Ltd.]. 1954. Pp. xii, 178. \$4.55.

ONE is impressed by the workmanlike qualities of this history. The author explains that his aim was to set down nothing which further inquiry or more penetrating analysis might prove false. Instead, he has almost certainly given us a definitive account of the provenance, building, and financing of the first Welland Canal. However, as the canal moves back in the history of much greater canals the story may well become less significant.

The first chapter is an excellent essay on the place of the Welland Canal in its large American setting and on "how Upper Canada met the challenge of the Erie Canal." The second chapter, "Promotion," deals with the events leading up to the securing of the charter and sufficient capital to begin construction. It covers more than the heading suggests as it devotes several pages to the rise of the idea of cutting a canal across the Niagara Peninsula.

Construction and finance, though described in separate chapters, were closely related, as the problems of construction greatly complicated those of finance. The divergent policies of William Hamilton Merritt, who turned towards government control and ownership, and John Barentse Yates, the American lottery manager, who worked to free the company from all dependence on government, are well described. The death of Yates in 1836 made government ownership inevitable.

The final chapter is an interesting study in entrepreneurship, of which Canadian historical writing to date does not afford a great many examples. The status of the company as a private corporation on the one hand, but with public responsibilities on the other, made the author's task difficult. Although the history of the Welland Canal Company cannot be called a success story, the Company's record shows that many of the purposes for which the canal was built, although not including profit for the shareholders, were achieved.

It was unnecessary for the writer to explain that he did not aim to give a biography of Merritt, for his study placed its principal emphasis on the element of entrepreneurship. But in any event, Merritt, who is fairly well known already, emerges as an important figure. His early and limited purpose in promoting the canal to improve his manufacturing interests on Twelve Mile Creek led him into bigger things.

The book reveals a complete familiarity with primary and secondary sources bearing on the subject. The author is to be congratulated on the way he has made use of material, such as the publications of the Ontario Historical Society, which is frequently overlooked as secondary in quality as well as category.

J. J. TALMAN

The University of Western Ontario

Old Toronto: Excerpts from Landmarks of Toronto by John Ross Robertson. Edited by E. C. KYTE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1954. Pp. xii, 346. \$5.00.

THIS volume, the second of a series of Pioneer Book published by the Macmillan Company, is designed to bring into circulation some of the more interesting and valuable accounts of early Canadian life. It comes in the same

attractive format as their *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada*. The title page intimates that these selections have been "edited, integrated and sometimes emended," and the Foreword adds, "this is not a History of Toronto. It is a mosaic."

With this admission in mind it is not easy to review the work from a strictly historical standpoint. To select, from the six original volumes of Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto* of some 3,500 pages, 10 per cent of that number must have meant much exacting editorial labour. Whether the chapters selected are really the best that might have been selected is a matter of opinion. The original *Landmarks* had no definite plan, no settled *modus operandi*. The six volumes were compiled from weekly articles which appeared in the Saturday issue of the *Evening Telegram* from about the year 1884 to 1915. They were written mainly by reporters of the newspaper assigned to interview old residents, to visit churches, historic sites, and places of historic or antiquarian interest. The result was they had no continuity, nor had any attempt been made to co-relate, or, as the editor says, to integrate them. This he has attempted to do, compiling on the whole a most interesting variety of local persons and notable events. The chapter on primary education in particular is an admirable one.

The editorial emendations might have been extended to the correction of inaccuracies which crept into the *Landmarks* by reason of the manner in which they were compiled. If this had been done the editor would not have stated, to cite some examples, that York (Toronto) was invaded in 1812; that the site of Osgoode Hall was given by John Beverley Robinson, when, as a matter of fact, that worthy gentleman sold the six acres to the Law Society for £1,000; that the population of Toronto when incorporated was 8,000 (p. 41), but, according to volume III, page 124, of the *Landmarks*, 9,254; or that the exhibition of 1852 was held on the grounds of Government House when it was actually staged on the Caer Howell property at the head of the present Simcoe Street. Other errors need not be mentioned here. They will be readily detected by any one at all familiar with the early history of Upper Canada.

The least satisfactory part of the book is the Index, a "selective" one of proper names. The frequent omission of initials results in confusion; for instance, to cite but one example, "Baldwin, Rev. Mr." refers to both the Rev. A. H. Baldwin on page 100, and to the Honourable Robert Baldwin on page 117, who appear as the same person. According to the Foreword, references to the *Landmarks of Toronto* were omitted "for greater ease in reading," but footnotes as to the source would have been of inestimable value to the reader who might wish to consult the original volumes.

T. A. REED

Toronto

Impressions of a Governor-General: Days of Lorne, from the Private Papers of the Marquis of Lorne 1873-1883 in the Possession of the Duke of Argyll at Inveraray Castle, Scotland. By W. STEWART MACNUTT. Fredericton, N.B.: Brunswick Press. 1955. Pp. x, 262, illus. \$4.75.

Days of Lorne is a delightful volume that will be enjoyed by all who pick it up. It is well written—sometimes, perhaps, a little too luxuriously written. The

reader is carried pleasantly along over well-known paths, but at a pace sufficiently leisurely to enable him to appreciate the picturesque descriptions and refreshing insights of his guide. The book is not a history of Canada between 1878 and 1883, nor is it truly a history of Lord Lorne's administration. It is a series of essays, of light sketches, that seek to capture the spirit of Canada during Macdonald's only "Golden Age": of that half-decade when National Policy was designed to create a body in which a national soul might someday arise, of those five years when the first stirrings of Canadian nationalism were clearly visible. Professor MacNutt has successfully caught the temper and tempo of the times and has, almost infectiously, communicated them. Lorne appears as a brighter and more active Governor General than has been commonly supposed, although he will never completely emerge from the shadows cast by his illustrious and dynamic, perhaps flamboyant, predecessor.

The volume is admittedly based largely on Lorne's papers, a small collection containing about ten volumes and a few bundles of correspondence. Since these have been examined by only a few scholars, the new light that is thrown on such matters as the tariff of 1879, the establishment of the office of High Commissioner, and the settlement of the railway dispute with British Columbia is useful and interesting. The content and accuracy of the book might have been improved by the examination of other materials; the light touch that the author so successfully maintains throughout would not have been destroyed. For example, according to Professor MacNutt, Dufferin sat in Council with his ministers "like a Stuart monarch and sometimes summarily influenced debate." Lorne was invited to do the same, and when he refused "the most informed men were confused and mystified." Surely this is not so! If it is, the reader is entitled to a little verification. According to Head the Governor had ceased to attend Council as far back as 1858; the new instructions, secured by Blake in 1875-6 and first issued when Lorne came to Canada, strongly indicate that the earlier practice had not been restored. Lorne was indeed shown the chair, as he says in *Passages from the Past*, and seems to have assumed that his immediate predecessors sat there during Council meetings. Professor MacNutt might have checked that assumption.

The chapter on the Letellier incident is perhaps the least satisfactory. It can hardly be described as "the most difficult constitutional crisis since Confederation"; a good argument could be put forth that the crisis of 1873 deserves that distinction. The resolution introduced by Mousseau in 1879 was not "a cunning move designed to force the hand of the Prime Minister," but appears to have been agreed on by Macdonald long before. The reference to the Colonial Office was much more of a blunder than is suggested in the book, and had Lorne not been the Queen's son-in-law it is likely that he would have been placed on the rack; the final despatch was carefully and delicately worded, containing as it did a mild reprimand, and had been several times in Cabinet and once before the Queen. Only until 1900 could Lorne flatter himself with the reflection "that no Canadian Prime Minister had again attempted to secure the dismissal of a lieutenant-governor," for in that year the Laurier administration dismissed McInnes in British Columbia. Such minor criticisms as these, however, do not seriously mar a volume that is, on the whole, useful and enlightening.

JOHN T. SAYWELL

The University of Toronto

- North of 55°: Canada from the 55th Parallel to the Pole.* Edited by CLIFFORD WILSON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1954. Pp. 192, illus., maps. \$5.00.
- The Yukon.* By A. CHERRY HINTON in collaboration with PHILIP H. GODSELL. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 184, illus. \$3.75.
- Sodbusters Invade the Peace.* By A. M. BEZANSON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 209. \$3.95.
- Son of the North.* By CHARLES CAMSELL. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 244, illus. \$5.00.

IN addition to their common field of interest, the Canadian Northwest, these four recent volumes are linked in bearing the familiar "R P 1829" imprint of the Ryerson Press, Toronto. It is a matter of gratification that a single publishing house should be doing so much to extend Canadians' knowledge of their country's northern frontiers and their past; and of regret that the field apparently offers such meagre rewards that few other publishers join Ryerson in this worthwhile endeavour. For evidences of the inexorable struggle between high costs and a limited market are all too visible in the volumes themselves. None is longer than 250 pages, three (the exception being *North of 55°*) are unfortunately reminiscent of wartime austerity productions, and all are priced beyond the means of most potential individual purchasers.

North of 55° is a collection of sixteen essays on northern Canada's natural features (geography, climate, mammals, birds, fish, and vegetation) and human activities (agriculture, fur trade, mining, exploration, Indians, Eskimos, police, travel, transportation, and defence). In this breakdown important aspects of the northern scene (for example the white man's adjustment to northern conditions, social services, and government administration) are overlooked. Limitations of space hamper effective presentation of larger subjects, such as "The Face of the Land," "First Comers," or "Wealth from the Rocks," while permitting considerable detail on smaller topics, such as "Northern Climate," "Fish and Fishing," and "Wings in the Arctic." The most successful marriage of thoroughness with brevity is Douglas Leechman's treatment of a complex subject, the northern Indian. The book is well illustrated, the fine selection of photographs being supplemented by pen and ink drawings, charts, and maps.

North of 55° stresses geographical subjects and present-day conditions rather than the northland's past, although there are exceptions, notably P. G. Downes's brief, suggestive survey of northern exploration and P. H. Godsell's descriptions of old-time travel methods. But for the most part the book will be found of value to historians chiefly for its evidence on the state of knowledge of, interest in, and development of northern Canada in the year 1954.

The Yukon, a history of the Yukon Territory and of its approaches, develops three main themes: the gold rush to the Klondike via Skagway, Alaska, or the Yukon River; the whaling and fur trading era on Herschel Island and the Arctic coast; and the modern age of air travel and the Alaska Highway, approaching the Territory from the southeast. In dealing with each area, natural resources, aborigines, early traders, prospectors, and police (the missionary's and geologist's roles seem slighted) are discussed and in the process most facets of the Territory's history are introduced. The authors, not content with the Yukon, give generous attention to Soapy Smith's Skagway where "vice sat enthroned in all its tinselled glory" (the chapters on the gold rush

era contain a good deal of "tinsel"), and to northeastern British Columbia, where, as the reader is often reminded, Mr. Godsell was a pioneer trail blazer. Eccentric spellings and a few errors of fact mark the telling of the Territory's colourful past and episodes like the Nahanni valley mysteries are related with a greater eye to sensational effect than for verifiable fact. Readers familiar with P. H. Godsell's other writings will find that *The Yukon* has borrowed liberally (sometimes entire paragraphs and pages) from his previous publications, notably *They Got their Man* and *The Romance of the Alaska Highway*.

The two remaining volumes are autobiographies and both deal with a vanishing era in the history of the Northwest; consequently their historical value is higher than that of the preceding works. A. M. Bezanson's interest in the Peace River country began fifty years ago, when settlers were flocking into western Canada, railways were calling new towns and cities into being, and real estate speculation was the West's biggest business. *Sodbusters Invade the Peace* is not so much an account of Peace River development as the story of the author's own fortune and misfortune—how he travelled the district in 1906, carefully scented its prospects, and selected as his own venture a riverside property with a natural millsite, an easy crossing, and on a direct line for a railway from Edmonton to the Peace River prairies; how for years he farmed his holding, attracted settlers by advertising the district far and wide, and acted as host and adviser to the newcomers; how personal tragedy came with the loss of his city-bred wife in childbirth; and finally, how his plans collapsed when the sole railway built into the Peace River country missed Bezanson's crossing and townsite by fifty miles. This personal tale is related against the magnificent backdrop of a new frontier, of bustling Edmonton and Athabaska Landing in the prewar boom, of Indians and traders being supplanted by pioneer farmers and merchants, of trading posts evolving into villages and pack trails into wagon roads. With Bezanson the reader meets a full complement of frontier Indians and outlaws, steamboat operators and settlers, politicians and financiers. Understandably the author tends to exaggerate his role in bringing the Peace River area to public notice, and here and there tinges of bitterness reveal his disappointment over the failure of his enterprise. All in all *Sodbusters Invade the Peace* is a remarkable memoir of a bygone age for its contributions to Peace River district history, the social history of a twentieth-century agrarian frontier, the exposition of the land developer's function in a pioneer environment, and, finally, for the revealing character study of an interesting western old-timer.

Dr. Charles Camsell's autobiography, *Son of the North* is a noteworthy contribution to the historical literature of the Northwest. A book by so distinguished an author automatically merits careful consideration because in his dual role of pioneer geologist and senior civil servant Dr. Camsell has helped make Canada's twentieth century what it is. Who else has personally witnessed the expansion of so many Canadian frontiers? Who else can survey the decades from Hudson's Bay Company rule to the present age of uranium mining and transpolar air travel? Born in 1876 at remotest Fort Liard, before 1906 he had come to know the outposts of the fur trade, most of the far-flung tributaries of the Mackenzie waterway, the rocks and streams of northern Ontario and Manitoba, and British Columbia's mountain ranges from Similkameen to Cassiar. The episodes of childhood and youth cast longer shadows than those of later years in the autobiography; after 1903 the years are passed

over quickly and the narrative virtually comes to an end with the author's promotion to the post of deputy minister of mines at Ottawa in 1920. An account of his subsequent career in helping formulate federal policies of mining development and Northwest Territories administration, and of his service on numerous projects and commissions would form an excellent sequel.

Son of the North is primarily a collection of notes on travel in remote and still rarely visited portions of Canada during the final two decades of the last century, supplemented by an excellent series of old-time photographs. The descriptions of trading posts, rivers, and portages, and of travel by canoe, York boat, dogsled, and snowshoe are informative, but piled one on another, tend to repetitiousness. The addition of details from later visits by plane in the 1930's to the story of his early experiences sometimes results in lengthy digressions. Artistically the book would perhaps have been improved by collecting the reports of these return visits into a sort of epilogue on the theme "After Forty Years."

Dr. Camsell the geologist is less at home describing people than places. His pages bear witness to a wide variety of acquaintances but though there are many anecdotes there are few character sketches or personal evaluations. Nor does the author come alive through the memoirs in the way that A.M. Bezanson does in his autobiography. Whatever the cause—a reserved nature or traditions of anonymity retained from a civil service career—*Son of the North* has a somewhat impersonal quality akin to a series of informal geographical articles. The general tone is one of quiet, optimistic faith in progress through scientific discovery based on the multitude of changes for the better wrought within a single lifetime. In an unostentatious way it also reflects Dr. Camsell's honest pride in having achieved such recognition in the scientific world and in having stood at the forefront of so many mining discoveries. Above all it is a commentary on the magnificent contribution to Canadian development made by a most able band of public servants by one of the greatest of their number.

MORRIS ZASLOW

The University of Toronto

Canada's Tomorrow: Papers and Discussion, Canada's Tomorrow Conference, Quebec City, November 1953. Edited by G. P. GILMOUR. Illustrations by ERIC ALDWINCKLE. Toronto: Macmillan. 1954. Pp. xii, 324. \$3.50.

THE purpose of the meetings held to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the formation in Canada of the Canadian Westinghouse Company, Limited, was to look ahead into Canada's Tomorrow. This excellent idea was born in the minds of the Company's officials in Hamilton, Ontario. A Committee was set up, which for some odd reason decided to hold the conference in the city most symbolic of Canada's Yesterday. They were obviously not thinking of the fact that in the nineteenth century Quebec was the centre of a popular movement for responsible government and political Liberalism, for the invited speakers included only one French Canadian, and no representatives at all of agriculture or of labour. For that matter, there was no artist, no poet, and no professionally trained educationist. The atmosphere appears to have been that of a comfortable Quebec "Chateau Clique," not really ready to contemplate change, however inevitable.

Dr. Gilmour, President of McMaster University and ex-President of the Canadian Council of Churches, set the tone. There is, he said, "one danger that is more to be dreaded than all others, that of man's . . . unwilling awareness of and obedience to a Will beyond his own." B. K. Sandwell's paper on "The Canadian People" was unfortunately confined to statistics. M. W. Mackenzie, of the Canadian Chemical and Cellulose Co. Ltd., urged "greater flexibility in the use of our most important resource—energy in its various forms." R. K. Stratford, of Imperial Oil Ltd., speaking for "Science," said that in his opinion "the difference between a socialistic state and a true democracy lies . . . in the question of who holds the reins. In a socialistic state there are relatively few in control. . . . In a true democracy it is the people." (p. 80) "I cannot believe," he added, "that we will long accept the present stupid philosophy that to achieve idleness is the goal of life, but rather will hitch our wagon to a star such as that which this summer brought a few great artists from England to our little Stratford-upon-Avon" (p. 89). Mr. D. W. Ambridge, President of the Abitibi Power and Paper Co. Ltd., was even more inspired. He suggested that "any company willing to go abroad and establish industry should be encouraged to do so by adequate financial arrangements with the taxing authorities." Is it not meet, he asked, that we "go forth into the world and let our light so shine before men that they may see our good works and glorify our Father which is in heaven?" (pp. 114-16)

Maurice Lamontagne's very able paper on "The Role of Government" shows that his views on federalism and bureaucracy are far from being those of the Legislature of his native Province of Quebec. He was followed by President Norman A. M. MacKenzie of the University of British Columbia, who dealt with "The Challenge to Education," and in true Canadian style called for "a synthesis of the best features of traditional and progressive thought."

The two historians on the programme, Professors Hilda Neatby and Donald Creighton, have both been described as good conservatives "reluctantly backing into the twentieth century."¹ But in the case of Mr. Creighton, it is not clear that he deserves this description. Certainly he would like to conserve what is left of the work of John A. Macdonald. But he is a progressive conservative. Discussing "Canada in the World," he did not seem to be looking back towards Europe and the British Empire so much as forward towards Asia and a truly cosmopolitan Commonwealth—or any better "universal society" that might emerge. "The one great hope of the Western World lies in the little group of successor states, and particularly in the greatest of them, the Indian Union, which emerged from the voluntary liquidation of the British Empire" (p. 244). Our real task, he said, was "to build an international order in which we and Communist countries may live side by side in peace" (p. 246). As for Canada, she "like India, cannot accept the doctrine that mere geographical position implies submission to a continental political solidarity . . . and during the next half-century Canada will show an increasing self-reliance in the making and stating of its views on world affairs. Canada has outgrown North American solidarity as an end in itself." (p. 249) Mr. Creighton, whose tone is clearly more "progressive" than "conservative," was convinced that "for a future of peace, our need is for organizations which transcend cultural barriers and cut across the great blocks of power into which the world is at present divided. One such organization is the Commonwealth." (p. 251)

¹Frank H. Underhill, "Critically Speaking," C.B.C. broadcast, Oct. 31, 1954.

After Mr. Creighton's contribution, the most important in the book, one might have expected this conference on "Canada's Tomorrow" to have been closed by "an outsider looking in" from India or some other great nation of the future. Instead, Professor D. W. Brogan, "delighted to be in this venerable, romantic and dramatic city of Quebec," had come over from still more venerable Cambridge to propound once again the venerable proposition that "Canada is the heir of the two great formative traditions of Western Europe: it is her pride and her opportunity to develop both" (p. 284).

This book is more a record of how some Canadians (and one British political scientist) view the world today than a forecast of things to come. The illustrations, however, are intriguing.

GORDON O. ROTHNEY

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Le Fédéralisme canadien: evolution et problèmes. Par MAURICE LAMONTAGNE. Quebec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval. 1954. Pp. x, 299. \$2.50.

THE social and industrial revolution that has been at work in Canada for a hundred years, accelerated by two world wars, has confronted the French-Canadian people with a growing threat to their cultural integrity. A preoccupation with the past, and the advocacy of a short-sighted solution of security through isolation from the remainder of North America, have developed as one reaction against the challenge of the outside world. It is refreshing to come upon a more audacious and optimistic view of the potential future of the French-speaking peoples of Canada. Maurice Lamontagne, who was director of Laval University's department of economics when he wrote this book, and is now assistant deputy minister of the new department of northern affairs and national resources at Ottawa, has examined at length the origin and nature of the Canadian federal union, and the implications of the "new federalism" that has grown up since 1940; and as a result he turns his back on separatism and isolation from the dynamic developments now under way in the remainder of Canada. In essence this lucid and spirited book is a call to his fellow Canadians of French language and culture to reintegrate themselves into the new Canada and play a partner's role in the vigorous northern nation now in the making. While he examines the "nationalism" of Quebec with understanding, he speaks out boldly against the tendency to indulge in unrealistic dreams about a suicidal separation from the rest of Canada, and chides his fellow-citizens for their proneness to blame internal difficulties on scapegoats. In the past it has been convenient to blame the English, the Jews, or the Americans for unsatisfactory conditions; and in recent years a new and convenient "stranger" has been created as a whipping boy. This is the Ottawa government, the "centralizers," who are out, as the myth tells it, to destroy and persecute French-Canadian culture. M. Lamontagne contends that it would be more healthy and constructive for the French Canadian to look within for some at least of his obstacles and difficulties. It is, he says, the task of the French Canadian to ensure that this country is truly a bi-cultural country. If the French Canadian fears Americanization, then one of the surest ways to combat it is to co-operate with the rest of Canada, to develop and maintain Canadian unity, under which a true diversity of culture can flourish. This book is much more effective as coming from Quebec City

than from, say, Toronto. M. Lamontagne will be belaboured by the narrower nationalists, but he seems to this writer to point the way toward a better relationship between English-speaking and French-speaking peoples of Canada than has ever existed before.

WILFRID EGGLESTON

Carleton College

Sicily-Salerno-Anzio, January 1943-June 1944. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, vol. IX. Boston: Little, Brown & Company [Toronto: Little, Brown & Company (Canada) Limited]. 1954. Pp. xxix, 413. \$6.75.

THIS is a well-integrated account of the three major Allied amphibious operations against Italy in 1943 and 1944, and it brings out many lessons. Admiral Morison contends that the greatest contribution made to amphibious technique by the invasion of Sicily "was the demonstration of what naval gunfire could do in support of troops fighting within a few miles of the shore." There had been previous examples of assault landings being covered by pre-landing bombardments from the sea, but before this operation enemy troops and tanks had not generally been accepted as suitable targets for naval gunfire. "It had been impossible," says Morison, "to wean high-placed Army officers from their ancient prejudice against this form of support." Operation "Husky," in the opinion of the Supreme Commander, General Eisenhower, disposed finally of any such doubts—and Field-Marshal Kesselring has declared that his reason for authorizing a disengagement at Salerno was "in order to evade the effective shelling from warships."

As in preceding volumes (the present is the ninth of a projected series of fourteen) the author demonstrates that when dealing with combined operations a naval historian must take due cognizance of the contribution of all three services. The Air Force and the Army both receive their share of credit—and blame, particularly at the higher command level. Admiral Morison thinks the Air Force might have assisted more in Sicily. He denounces as inadequate the policy of merely sealing off the beachheads by destroying the enemy's air power and putting his airfields out of action, and he accuses the Northwest Tactical Air Force (which he styles predominantly American) of refusing to co-operate in supporting landings because "the top air commanders of both countries were trying to prove that air power, alone and uncoordinated, could win the war. They almost managed to prove the opposite." Things were better at Salerno, where escort carriers of the Royal Navy helped to provide tactical air support.

Because of the 1st Canadian Division's service in Sicily, readers in this country will be interested chiefly in the account of operation "Husky." This campaign occupies more than half the book, although limitations of space in what is predominantly an American naval history have permitted only a very brief outline of the land fighting in the Eighth Army's sector. The author questions the wisdom of General Montgomery's tactics in abandoning the direct advance up the east coast for the left hook which brought the Canadians their bitterest fighting on the island. This change in plan, which was made because of the stubborn enemy stand in front of Catania and the resulting

heavy British casualties, ended any hope of cutting off the German retreat to the mainland. And he argues that in the final stages of the campaign the Allied failure to use their superior sea and air power intelligently permitted a successful evacuation across the Messina Strait of 100,000 Axis troops with large quantities of equipment. This episode, he asserts, "has never received proper attention; partly for want of information, partly because nobody on the Allied side has cared to dwell on it."

Admiral Morison points out that the decision by the Cairo conference to mount the Anzio operation was based on the assumption that the American Fifth Army would by the time of the assault have approached close enough to Rome for a speedy link-up with the landing force. He assails Mr. Churchill for subsequently insisting on the project being carried out, even though the enemy's prolonged resistance at Cassino had ended all hope of support reaching the beachhead from overland. General Lucas was relieved of his command when the "wildcat" that Mr. Churchill had hoped for became a "stranded whale." Admiral Morison thinks that the blame should be shared by General Clark, "for his woolly directive" to Lucas, and by General Alexander, who instead of correcting Clark or prodding Lucas "gave no orders, offered no suggestions, applied no heat." And incidentally, in the description of the final advance to Rome, the author's claim that the French captured Pontecorvo should raise a good many eyebrows among veterans of the 1st Canadian Brigade with vivid memories of the stubborn resistance overcome by their battalions in taking that key position in the Hitler Line.

Admiral Morison admits that the military historian, writing years after the event with all the evidence before him, is susceptible to "the occupational disease of omniscience." Not all his findings will meet with ready acceptance, but it will be apparent to the reader that the majority of the conclusions which he reaches in this interesting volume are soundly based and merit careful consideration.

G. W. L. NICHOLSON

Ottawa

The Trial of Kurt Meyer. By B. J. S. MACDONALD. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited. 1954. Pp. xvi, 216. \$3.00.

THIS book is neither topical nor timely, except in so far as any book may be so styled when it directs public attention to the lessons of history. Had it been written a few years earlier—and it is no reflection on a busy professional man that it was not—it could very easily have settled the question of its subject's confinement behind the walls of Dorchester Penitentiary in the way in which the mass of Canadian opinion felt that it should be settled. But Kurt Meyer has profited from the sentimentalism which in this, as in other countries of the Commonwealth, casts a protective cloak over the beaten enemy. Many have testified to the good impression Meyer made upon his captors, particularly those Intelligence officers who took part in the early interrogation. His youth, his experience in battle, and his undoubted capacity and courage tested in Russia and confirmed in the unprecedented fury of our attack in Normandy, stood him in good stead in the high military circles where his fate was finally determined. His fatalism and his failure to perceive the true significance

of the case against him appear all the more sinister in the light of Colonel Macdonald's lucid and orderly narrative.

Few soldiers and few lawyers, after reading this book, will doubt that Meyer was fairly tried and properly condemned for responsibility for the murder of Canadian soldiers. Some of the latter may be troubled by the special regulations devised for the trial of war criminals permitting the introduction as evidence of affidavits and sworn interrogations of witnesses who could not be produced at trial. But Meyer was really convicted out of his own mouth and by the infamous record of the Waffen S.S. with regard to prisoners both military and civilian, by no means characteristic of the German Army. The Hitler Youth division in which Meyer served and finally commanded was part of that highly trained and specially favoured corps created by the evil genius of Heinrich Himmler, of which the Gestapo was only one manifestation. Its military arm was a sharp but envenomed weapon in the hands of the Wehrmacht. In this connection Colonel Macdonald appears to have confused, on several pages of the book, the Wehrmacht which included all the armed forces of Germany with the Reichswehr or German Army. But with this concession to Intelligence Corps pedantry it must be admitted that his account of the trial and the investigations leading up to it is a concisely written and valuable addition to our military history.

There is one curious piece of advocacy on the part of Colonel Macdonald in contrast with the general restraint of his approach: "What individual soldiers may do in the heat of battle or immediately after is one thing. The cold-blooded shooting of prisoners of war at a rear headquarters after interrogation is quite another, especially if ordered, authorized or encouraged by a general officer. This was the principle established in the Meyer case." (p. 211) This apparently refers to the incident of the shooting of seven Canadian prisoners after interrogation at Meyer's headquarters at Abbaye Ardenne. As far as can be judged from the rest of the narrative, this was not a rear headquarters but a command post of the 25th S.S. Panzer Grenadier Regiment, under intermittent attack from the air against which there was no real defence and in the middle of one of the most violent battles in history. Moreover, Meyer was not then a general officer but the commander of that regiment. Nevertheless, the bald and unadorned accounts of the laughing and jeering young soldiers bashing in the heads of their prisoners with rifle butts and the sneering interrogations of the Canadian soldiers so soon to die in cold blood, creates without art a sense of horror which the reader will not soon forget. Nor will he tend to forget or to discount the mood in which his fellow-countrymen fought and conquered.

SAM H. S. HUGHES

Welland, Ont.

THE VIKINGS IN AMERICA: A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY¹

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ANDERSEN, HARRY, *see* Moltke, Erik.

ANDERSSON, INGVAR, "Kring Kensingtonstenen," *Nordisk Tidskrift*, XXVI (1950). Argues that the Kensington inscription cannot be fitted into the Scandinavian cultural milieu of the fourteenth century.

BRØGGER, A. W., "Hvor lå Helluland, Markland og Vinland?" *Naturen*, 1943. This is a review of Tanner's article. Brøgger argues from examination of sources that *vin* must mean *wine* and that Vinland lay north of 41° N. Lat. and south of some point in Massachusetts.

BRØNSTED, JOHANNES, "Problemet om nordboer i Nordamerika før Columbus," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Histoire*, 1950. This is a report of Brønsted's examination of alleged Viking relics in North America. As to the Kensington stone he believes that archaeology can tell us nothing positive for or against the genuineness of the inscription but finds himself forced to reject it on philological grounds. On the Beardmore Find he says that it has been impossible to produce clear evidence that the weapons were left in the eleventh century in the place where they are said to have been found and they cannot be used as a reliable archaeological document for the present. The Newport tower he regards as most likely an English watch-tower or beacon dating from about 1640. He also discusses twenty-five weapons and tools found in America and said to be of Norse origin. Of these some are not Norse, some may have been brought in recently, and to the five to which this does not apply some doubt is attached. Mr. Pohl's discovery of mooring-holes in rocks on the Atlantic coast proves nothing, for such holes are still used by fishermen there. Brønsted does not offer any satisfactory explanation for the mooring holes discovered by Holand in Minnesota. He rejects outright various alleged runic inscriptions including the Yarmouth stone whose inscription, he says, is not even runic. An expanded English translation of "Problemet" is to be found in the *Annual Report* of the Smithsonian Institution, 1953.

BRØSTE, K., and FISCHER-MØLLER, K., *The Mediaeval Norsemen at Gardar* (Anthropological Investigation, Meddelelser om Grønland, LXXXIX, No. 3; København, 1944). Report on skeletal remains of 16 individuals exhumed from interments of c. 1200. "The skeletons from Gardar provide us with a cross-section of a population of pure Nordic type, with well developed individuals displaying no sign of degeneration."

¹This survey was originally an Appendix to a paper read by the author to the Canadian Historical Association meeting in Winnipeg, June, 1954, and printed in the *Annual Report*. The Editors of the *Report* and of the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* jointly agreed that the bibliography might more suitably be published in the *REVIEW*. It covers works published in the last fifteen years that have come to the author's notice with a few works published previous to 1939 and mentioned in the text of his paper.

The author wishes to take this opportunity to correct the following errors in his paper as printed in the *Annual Report*:

Page 56, line 8, should read

The passage in *Grœnlendinga þáttur*, "Day and night. . . .

Page 56, line 12, should read

stadr [i.e. the place over which the sun is at about 3 or 3.30 p.m.],"

Page 56, line 13: for "such" read "much."

- BROWN, MADELAINE R., and MAGOUN, F. P., Jr., "Tyrkir, First German in North America," *Modern Language Notes*, LXI (1946). Some speculations on the Tyrkir episode including remarks on Tyrkir's medical history.
- CLARK, AUSTIN H., *Iceland and Greenland* (Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies, no. 15; Washington, 1943). Among some excellent material there is some which is out-dated on the Vinland voyages and the Icelandic settlements in Greenland. Both the Beardmore Find and the Kensington stone are accepted as genuine archaeological documents.
- CONANT, KENNETH J., "Newport Tower or Mill," *Rhode Island History*, VII (1948). Argues that the features of the tower are such that it may well be a colonial structure.
- CURRAN, JAMES W., *Here was Vinland* (Sault Ste Marie, Ontario, 1939). Inspired by the Beardmore Find, Curran locates Vinland in the region of the Great Lakes.
- CURRELLY, C. T., "Viking Weapons Found near Beardmore, Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review*, XX (1939). An account of this find.
- "Further Comments Regarding the Beardmore Find," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXII (1941). Argues that the weapons were found as claimed at Beardmore.
- DELABARRE, E. B., *The Dighton Rock* (New York, 1928). Lengthy account of previous works dealing with the Dighton Rock with numerous reproductions of early and late drawings and photographs of it. The author's ascription of certain markings and drawings on the rock to Miguel Cortereal is unconvincing. Other inscribed rocks of New England are also discussed and illustrated. On American petroglyphs in general, see Julian H. Steward, "Petroglyphs of the United States," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1936.
- DÚASON, JÓN, *Landkönnun og Landnám Íslendinga í Vesturheimi* (Reykjavík, 1941-7). A discussion of the Vinland voyages, the Greenland colony and its disappearance, the geographical *Weltbild* of the mediaeval Icelanders and how far this was known outside of Scandinavia, and the origin of the Eskimo culture. The doctrine is advanced that the Tunnit were Icelanders who had adopted an Eskimo way of life, and that the Eskimos and their culture are the result of intermixture between the Icelanders and Skraelings in Greenland. Among some questionable material there is very much of great value in this huge work.
- *Rjettarstaða Grænlands* (Reykjavík, 1947-). An attempt to prove that Greenland was an Icelandic colony and belongs to Iceland.
- ELDJÁRN, KRISTJÁN, "Austmannadalur," *Gengið á reka* (Akureyri, 1948). A description of excavations at farmsteads in the Western Settlement of Greenland and of the various types of buildings developed there. Inclines to the view that the climate of Greenland deteriorated in the later Middle Ages. An English translation of this appeared in the *Icelandic Canadian*, XIII, no. 2 (1954).
- ELLIOTT, O. C., "The Case of the Beardmore Relics," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXII (1941). An excellent survey of the evidence.
- "Further Comments Regarding the Beardmore Find," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXII (1941). Tends to believe that the weapons were recently brought into Canada.
- EYÞÓRSSON, JÓN, "Um loftlagsbreytingar á Íslandi og Grænlandi síðan á landnámsöld, *Skirnir*, C (1926). A discussion of climatic changes in Iceland and Greenland since the ninth and tenth centuries. Concludes that there have been no significant changes.
- FINDAHL, THEO, "Was Vinland near Chesapeake Bay?" *American Scandinavian Review*, XL (1952). A brief discussion of Mjelde's views on the "eyktar staður" problem.
- FISCHER-MØLLER, K., *The Mediaeval Norse Settlements in Greenland* (Anthropological Investigations, Meddelelser om Grønland, LXXXIX, no. 2; København, 1942). Report on large number of skeletal remains exhumed from interments of c. 1300 in the Western Settlement. These showed no sign of degeneration but

- some of the skulls showed definitely that even at this early date some mixture of the blood of the Icelanders in Greenland and the Eskimos had taken place.
- FLIFLET, TH. (article on Newport tower), *Nordisk Tidende*, April, 1949. See Author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- GODFREY, WILLIAM S., Jr., "Newport Tower," *Archaeology*, II (1949); III (1950). Report of excavations performed at base of the piers of the Newport tower in 1948 and 1949. Small artifacts from the colonial period of American history were found and their locations were such that they must have found their way thither at the time of the building of the tower. The author concludes that the tower must have been built by Benedict Arnold or his contemporaries.
- "The Newport Tower: A Reply to Mr. Pohl," *Archaeology*, IV (1951). Denies that artifacts found at base of tower can be from nineteenth-century excavations. Unquestionably the ground in which they were found had not been disturbed since erection of tower.
- "The Archaeology of the Old Stone Mill in Newport, Rhode Island," *American Antiquity*, XVII (1951). A comprehensive report on the archaeological work on the tower. This indicates that it is a seventeenth-century structure.
- "Reply to Holand," *American Antiquity*, XVIII (1953). Attempts to show that Holand's arguments for a Norse origin of the tower cannot be maintained in view of the archaeological work on the tower.
- GOODWIN, WILLIAM B., *The Truth about Leif Ericsson and the Greenland Voyages* (Boston, 1941). Attempts to locate the various localities mentioned in the sagas. Very uncritical and poorly organized.
- *The Ruins of Great Ireland in New England* (Boston, 1946). Argues that certain stone structures in New England were the work of Irish monks who fled thither from Iceland when the Vikings settled it. These structures are located in the *Hvitramannaland* or *Irland hit mikla* of the sagas. Fantastic.
- HAGEN, S. N., "The Kensington Runic Inscription," *Speculum*, XXV (1950). An elaborate defence of the genuineness of the inscription.
- HANSEN, F. C. C., *Anthropologia medico-historica groenlandiæ antiquæ* (Meddelelser om Grønland, LXVII, no. 3; København, 1924). Report on the anatomical investigations of the skeletal remains from Herjolfsnes. See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- HENCKEN, HUGH, "The 'Irish Monastery' at North Salem, New Hampshire," *New England Quarterly*, XII (1939). Demolishes view that Mr. Goodwin's stone structures can be Irish.
- HENNIG, RICHARD, "Grönland in der Erdkunde des Mittelalters," *Erdkunde*, IV (1950). Maintains that Eskimos began to move south in Greenland in the early years of the fourteenth century. They came to blows with the Icelanders there, usually in small bloody conflicts. In 1342 the Western Settlement was overrun by them and its inhabitants forced to flee across sea to the northerly regions of America. The author says very little on knowledge of Greenland in the geographical lore of the Middle Ages, but discusses the knowledge its inhabitants had of their own country.
- "Zur normannischen Erstentdeckung Amerikas," *Saeculum*, I (1950). Regards Beardmore Find as belonging "zu den Bedeutungsvollsten." Accepts Kensington stone as genuine and thinks Newport tower was part of a round church.
- HERMANNSSON, HALLDÓR, *The Vinland Sagas* (Islandica, XXX; Ithaca, 1944). A critical edition of *Eiríks saga rauða* and the *Grænlendinga þáttur*.
- "Tyrkir, Leif Erikson's Foster-Father," *Modern Language Notes*, LXIX (1954). "The tradition on which the [Grænlendinga] þáttur is based had . . . some faint notion that a foreigner was in Leif's company who found and identified the grapes. But it was forgotten who he was and what brought him there, hence Tyrkir was invented and called Leif's foster-father."
- HOCKETT, CHARLES F., and MOULTON, WILLIAM G., "Germanic and Algonquian:

- A Modern Myth," *American Scandinavian Review*, XXXIX (1951). Devastating criticism of Sherwin's *The Viking and the Red Man* by an eminent American Algonquianist and an Indo-European expert, both professors at Cornell University.
- HOLAND, HJALMAR R., *Westward from Vinland* (New York, 1940). Mr. Holand's second book on the Kensington stone, in which his earlier arguments are expanded and new ones advanced.
- "The Runic Inscription on No Man's Land," *New England Quarterly*, XVII (1944). A "wonderful" attempt to show that these runes were carved by a member or members of the Knutsson expedition. It is a most illuminating commentary on how love for a theory may carry a man to any extremes.
- *America 1355-1364* (New York, 1946). Further discussion of the Kensington stone, introduction of Newport tower as headquarters of Knutsson expedition, and a discussion of Norse weapons and tools found in America.
- "The Origin of the Newport Tower," *Rhode Island History*, VII (1948). An attempt to refute Conant's arguments in a previous article in the same journal.
- "The Newport Tower: Norse or English?" *American Scandinavian Review*, XXXVII (1949). Argues that a Norse standard of linear measure was used by the builders of the tower.
- "Vinland Visited 1050," *American Scandinavian Review*, XXXVII (1949). Argues that the young man whose death is bemoaned in the runic inscription from Hønen in Ringerike (which contains what is probably the earliest recorded mention of Vinland) was Þrándr Hálfðánarson from Úpplönd who is said to have gone to Greenland because of difficulties with King Harold Hardrada.
- "Kensington-Steinens Mangfoldighet," *Nordisk Tidskrift*, XXVI (1950). An answer to Jansson's article in the same journal.
- "Hvad mener de Lærde om Kensingtonstenen?" *Danske Studier*, 1951. Reply to an article by Moltke and Andersen in same journal.
- "The Origin of the Kensington Inscription," *Scandinavian Studies*, XXIII (1951). Reply to a newspaper article giving an account of a lecture by Erik Moltke in Copenhagen.
- "Skandinaviske Minnesmerker i Amerika fra det Fjortende Aarhundrede," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1951. Answer to Brønsted's article in same journal.
- "The Age of the Newport Tower," *Archaeology*, IV (1951). Reaffirms Holand's belief that the tower is of Norse construction although Godfrey's excavations indicate that it was built in the colonial period.
- HOLTVED, ERIK, *Archaeological Investigations in the Thule District* (Meddelelser om Grønland, CXLI, nos. 1 and 2; København, 1944). Magnificent report including a description of Norse relics found.
- see also Mathiasen, Therkel
- HOLVIK, J. A. (article on Kensington stone), *Concordian*, no. 10, Nov. 18, 1949). This article is quoted in *extenso* in Moltke's article, "The Ghost of the Kensington Stone." In it Mr. Holvik published a letter dated Jan. 1, 1899, from J. P. Hedberg of Kensington to Swan J. Turnblad of Minneapolis. The letter contains a sketch which Mr. Hedberg calls "an exact copy of writing on a stone brought to him by Olof Ohman." Mr. Holvik made a detailed comparison in October, 1949, of this sketch, which he found in the archives of the Minnesota State Historical Society, with the inscription on the Kensington stone, and found that this sketch is not a copy of the inscription on the stone. "It is an original preliminary draft of the story later inscribed on the stone." There are seventeen differences between the runepaper enclosed in the Hedberg letter of Jan. 1, 1899, and the Kensington stone, most of which are of such a nature that they cannot be the errors of a careless copyist. This would seem to be a most important document.
- HONTI, J. TH., "Vinland and Ultima Thule," *Modern Language Notes*, LIV (1939). Thinks that "in the line of tradition which Adam [of Bremen] represents, Vinland

- took the place of *Ultima Thule*, of the remote, fertile and ice-surrounded island."
- "Late Vinland Tradition (The Thorbjörn Narrative)," *Modern Language Quarterly*, I (1940).
- IRVING, T. B., "The Vinland Riddle," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XI (1941-2). Some speculations on the location of Vinland and the travels of the Vikings. The Beardmore Find prompted the author to write the article.
- JANSSON, SVEN B. F., *Sagorna om Vinland* (Lund, 1944). This is a detailed study of two redactions of *Eiríks saga rauða*, i.e. AM 544 and 557.
- "Runestenen' från Kensington i Minnesota," *Nordisk Tidskrift*, XXV (1949). One of the weightiest condemnations of the inscription by an expert runologist. Points out many errors in writings of Holand and Thalbitzer.
- "Rúnasteinninn frá Kensington," *Skirnir*, CXXIV (1950). A translation into Icelandic of the above article.
- JÓHANNESON, JÓN, "Reisubók Bjarnar Jórðsalafara," *Skirnir*, CXIX (1945). Argues that the *Reisubók* deals with a fourteenth, and not a fifteenth, century voyage to Greenland.
- KIAER, H. F., *Fortegnelse over Meddelelser om Grønland afsluttet i April 1950*. (København, 1950). Lists publications in this series to 1950.
- LETHBRIDGE, T. C., *Herdsmen and Hermits* (Cambridge, 1950). Mostly on early Celtic seafarers. Thinks inhabitants of Western Settlement in Greenland moved to America; those of the Eastern Settlement later may have done the same or been transported to England. Believes Kensington stone may be genuine.
- LÖVE, ASKELL, "The Plants of Wineland the Good," *Icelandic Canadian*, X, no. 2. See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954. Dr. Löve has also furnished me with an abstract of a paper on this subject which he delivered at the symposium on the history of botany and botanical history at the Eighth International Congress of Botany in Paris in July, 1954, in which his views are elaborated.
- MAGOUN, F. P., Jr., see Brown, Madelaine R.
- MALLERY, ARLINGTON H., *Lost America* (Washington, 1951). The author claims to have found evidence for a widespread iron-age civilization in pre-Columbian America, which was wiped out by the Black Death. A fantastic piece of work.
- MARCUS, G. J., "The Greenland Trade-Route," *Economic History Review*, Second Series, VII (1954). Contains no really new material and very little on the fifteenth century. Tends to believe that there was a marked deterioration in the Greenland climate about the beginning of the fifteenth century.
- MARSTRAND, VILHELM, "The Runic Inscription on No Man's Land," *New England Quarterly*, XXII (1949). Shows that these runes were probably carved on March 4, 1913.
- MATHIASSEN, THERKEL, and HOLTVED, ERIK, *The Eskimo Archaeology of Julianehaab District* (Meddelelser om Grønland, CXVIII, no. 1; København, 1936). Has chapter on Norse relics found in Eskimo houses. These are quite numerous.
- MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH, *Newport Tower* (New York, 1942). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- MIRSKY, JEANETTE, *To the Arctic* (New York, 1948). In a brief notice of the Vikings the author makes the statement that the Greenland colony was completely gone by 1400 and that no one will ever know why it perished.
- MOLTKE, ERIK, "The Kensington Stone," *Antiquity*, XXV (1951). A refutation of Hagen's article in *Speculum*.
- "The Ghost of the Kensington Stone," *Scandinavian Studies*, XXV (1953). Points out that all the leading runologists of Scandinavia and Germany have condemned the inscription. Reiterates how decisively the occurrence on the stone of a rune representing consonantal *i*, i.e. *j*, proves that the inscription is modern. He also points out many errors or erroneous arguments used by Holand and definitely lays the ghost of the Kensington stone.
- MOLTKE, ERIK and ANDERSEN, HARRY, "Kensington-stenen, Amerikas Runesten,"

- Danske Studier*, 1949-50. One of the weightiest indictments by a runologist and a philologist.
- "Hvad de Lærde mener om Kensington-stenen—og Hjalmar Holand," *Danske Studier*, 1951. A devastating reply to an article by Holand in the same journal.
- MORIARTY, G. ANDREWS, "Newport's Old Stone Mill," *New England Quarterly*, XIX (1946). Reply to Pohl's article in same journal, 1945. Moriarty argues that the reference to a stone tower in the colonial paper of 1632, "Commodities," cannot be to an existing structure, and in any case not to the Newport tower which would be utterly useless to defend a colony on Long Island separated from it by a long stretch of open ocean. Stresses also the fact that if a Norse colony existed for centuries at Newport it is most remarkable that it left behind no trace of its existence except the tower.
- MOULTON, WILLIAM G., see Hockett, Charles F.
- MÜLLER, ROLF, "Altnordische Eyktmarken und die Entdeckung Amerikas," *Greinar*, II, no. 3 (Reykjavik, 1949). Surveys recent work on this problem, discusses it and concludes that our information is such that the latitude of Vinland cannot be ascertained from it with any certainty.
- NANSEN, FRIDTJOF, *In Northern Mists* (London, 1911). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- NØRLUND, P., *Buried Norsemen at Herjolfsnes* (Meddelelser om Grønland, LXVII, no. 1; Copenhagen, 1924). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- *Viking Settlers in Greenland and their Descendants during Five Hundred Years* (London, 1936). A fascinating but rather uncritical history of the Greenland colony.
- OLESON, T. J., "Polar Bears in the Middle Ages," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXI (1950). A discussion of the importance of polar bears as diplomatic instruments. Thinks they spread knowledge of Greenland in Europe.
- PELL, HERBERT, "The Old Stone Mill, Newport," *Rhode Island History*, VII (1948). Tower was the work of shipwrecked mariners, most likely Miguel Cortereal and his companions.
- PETERSEN, CARL S., "Wimmer og Kenstingtonstenen," *Nordisk Tidskrift*, XXVI (1950). States that, from the first, Wimmer considered the inscription a forgery.
- PETERSON, C. STEWART, *America's Rune Stone* (New York, 1946). Consists in the main of testimonials and standard arguments in favour of the authenticity of the inscription.
- POHL, FREDERICK J., "Was the Newport Tower Standing in 1632?" *New England Quarterly*, XVIII (1945). In a colonial paper of 1632 entitled "The Commodities of the Island called Manati or Long Island within the Continent of Virginia" there occurs the following passage: "So that 30 idle men as souldiers or gent be resident in a rownd stone towre and by tornes to trade with the savages and to keep their ordinance and arms neat. . . ." This Mr. Pohl argues is a reference to an already existing stone tower, which must be the Newport tower.
- "A Key to the Problem of the Newport Tower," *Rhode Island History*, VII (1948). Argues that the builders of the tower used a Norse standard of measurement.
- "Leif Ericsson's Visit to America," *American Scandinavian Review*, XXXVI (1948). Cape Cod is identified as Leifur's landfall and this is proved by mooring holes.
- "The Newport Tower: An Answer to Mr. Godfrey," *Archaeology*, III (1950). Argues that the artifacts Mr. Godfrey found at the base of the Newport tower may date from nineteenth-century excavations.
- *The Sinclair Expedition to Nova Scotia in 1398* (Pictou, Nova Scotia, 1950). Identifies Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, as the Zichmni of the Zeno forgeries, which are here accepted as genuine.
- "The Adventure of the Hasty Grave," *American Scandinavian Review*, XL

- (1952). Identifies Mt. Desert Island as the place where Thorvaldur Eiríksson met his death.
- *The Lost Discovery* (New York, 1952). Describes author's search for mooring holes on Cape Cod and his attempt to locate various places mentioned in sagas. Very uncritical.
- QUAIFE, MILO M., "The Kensington Myth Once More," *Michigan History*, XXXI (1947).
- REMAN, EDWARD, *The Norse Discoveries and Explorations in America* (Los Angeles, 1949). Leifur Eiríksson's Vinland was, according to Reman, on the west coast of the Bay of Fundy. Þorfinnr Karlsefni's settlement was, however, on the shores of Hudson Bay, where the climate was much warmer than it is today.
- REUTER, OTTO SIGFRID, "Zur Geographie Vinlands," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Naturwissenschaft*, 1942.
- ROUSSEAU, J., "Identity of Vinber and Vinland," *Rhodora*, LIII (1951). Argues that *vinber* are red currants (*Ribes triste*).
- ROUSSELL, AAGE, *Farms and Churches in the Mediaeval Norse settlements of Greenland* (Meddelelser om Grønland, LXXXIX, no. 1; København, 1941). An excellent account of archaeological work.
- SCOTT, WINFIELD TOWNLEY, "The Tower at Newport," *American Scandinavian Review*, XXXIV (1946). Mostly a notice of Means's book. Urges excavation.
- SHERWIN, REIDER T., *The Viking and the Red Man* (New York and Bronxville, 1940-50). A huge work in 6 volumes in which the author attempts to show a relationship between Algonquian and Old Norse by giving lists of words in the two languages that may possibly be related. Thoroughly unscientific.
- SÖDERBERG, SVEN, "Vinland," *Snällposten*, Oct. 30, 1910 (Malmö). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (London, 1938). The introduction contains a discussion of the voyages of the Icelanders, the Greenland colony and its disappearance, and pre-Columbian knowledge in Europe of lands west of the Atlantic.
- "The Disappearance of the Greenland Colony," *Unsolved Mysteries of the Arctic* (New York, 1939). Argues that the colony disappeared because the Icelandic inhabitants were assimilated with the Eskimos. An Icelandic translation of this appeared in *Skirnir*, CXIV (1940).
- "Did Columbus Visit Iceland?" *Ultima Thule* (New York, 1940). Argues that Columbus probably did visit Iceland in 1477.
- *Greenland* (New York, 1942). A more detailed elaboration of the views advanced on Greenland in the above works.
- *Great Adventures and Explorations* (New York, 1947). Contains a chapter on the Vinland voyages with a mention of the Kensington stone and the Newport tower. Thinks it may be possible that the former is genuine and the latter very likely of Norse and pre-Columbian origin.
- STRANDWOLD, OLAF, *Runic Inscriptions along the American Atlantic Seaboard* (Prosser, Wash., 1939).
- *Norse Inscriptions on American Stones* (Weehawken, 1950). Of the former book Erik Moltke wrote that it "shows that this author lacks the most elementary knowledge of Scandinavian languages; he is able to find runes in any crevice or groove—and decipher them. He is lacking in all scientific qualifications for occupying himself with runological subjects."
- STRÖMBÄCK, DAG, *The Árna-Magnæan Manuscript 557 4to Containing inter alia the History of the First Discovery of America* (Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi, XIII; Copenhagen, 1940). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- SWANTON, JOHN R., *The Wineland Voyages* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, CVII, no. 12; Washington, 1947). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- TANNER, V., "De gamla nordbornas Helluland, Markland och Vinland," *Budkavlen*, XX (1941). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.

- "Ruinerna på Sculpin Island (Kanayoktok) i Nains skärgård, Newfoundland-Labrador," *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, XLIV (1941). Examines house ruins, which some have claimed to be Norse, and finds that they are rather Eskimo.
- *Outlines of the Geography, Life and Customs of Newfoundland-Labrador* (Cambridge, 1947). Restates earlier views of author but adds nothing new.
- TENGSTRÖM, ERIK, "Var låg Vinland det Goda?" *Ymer*, LX (1940). A discussion of the "eyktar staður" problem.
- THALBITZER, WILLIAM, *Two Runic Stones, from Greenland and Minnesota* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, CXVI, no. 3; Washington, 1951). Discusses the Kingigtorsuaq stone found in northern West Greenland (latitude 72° 58' N., longitude 56° 14' W.) and the Kensington stone, which the author tends to believe authentic. The work is in the main an English translation of "To fjærne runestene fra Grønland og Amerika," *Danske Studier*, 1946-7.
- "The Voyage of Powell Knutsson," *Jahrb. f. Länder- u. Völkerkunde*, 1951.
- THORARINSSON, SIGURDUR, "Vinlandsproblemet: Några reflexioner med anledning av V. Tanners skrift," *Ymer*, LXII (1942). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- THORHALLASON, EIGILL, *Efterretning om Rudera eller Levninger af de Gamle Normaends og Islaenderes Bygninger paa Grønlands Vester-Side, Tilligemed et Anhang om deres Undergang Sammesteds* (Kjöbenhavn, 1776). See author's paper, *C.H.A. Report*, 1954.
- WAHLGREN, ERIK, "The Runes of Kensington," *Studies in Honor of Albert Morey Sturtevant* (Lawtence, Kansas, 1952). A refutation of Hagen's article.
- [WAHLGREN, ERIK], "A Farmer's Fun," *Time*, Feb. 8, 1954. Reports that Professor Wahlgren has found that Olof Ohman had a Swedish encyclopedia from which he could have gained enough knowledge of runes to make the Kensington inscription.
- WALLACE, W. S., "The Literature Relating to the Norse Voyages to America," *Canadian Historical Review*, XX (1939). A survey of writings on the subject with some comments on the Kensington stone and the Beardmore relics. The author does not enter into the question of the authenticity of the latter, but as to the former he "finds it easier to believe that the Kensington rune-stone is genuine than that it is a modern forgery."
- ÞORSTEINSSON, BJÖRN, "Íslandsverzlun Englendinga á fyrra hluta 16. aldar," *Skírnir*, CXXIV (1950). A survey of commercial relations between England and Iceland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

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BY MARGARET JEAN HOUSTON

Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also *Canadiana*, a monthly list of Canadian publications prepared by the Canadian Bibliographic Centre, Ottawa, and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," published in the April issue.

Sections of the bibliography omitted from this issue for reasons of space will be included in later issues.

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

BARCLAY, C. N. *The First Commonwealth Division: The Story of the British Commonwealth Land Forces in Korea, 1950-1953*. With a Foreword by Field-Marshal Earl ALEXANDER OF TUNIS. Aldershot: Gale and Polden Limited. 1954. Pp. xviii, 236, illus. \$4.50. Obtainable from *Canadian Military Journal*, 47 Yonge St., Toronto.

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CARRINGTON, C. E. A New Theory of the Commonwealth (*International Affairs*, XXXI (2), April, 1955, 137-48). "I look . . . to a Commonwealth which has shed its political past, which relies upon no historic loyalties but is integrated by hard material common factors."

FARR, DAVID M. L. *The Colonial Office and Canada, 1867-1887*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 362, illus. \$5.50. To be reviewed later.

JENNINGS, SIR IVOR. A Great Experiment in Government; Making Self-Government Work (*Listener*, LIII (1354), Feb. 10, 1955, 226-7; LIII (1355), Feb. 17, 1955, 275). A discussion of the Commonwealth in two parts.

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MORRAH, DERMONT. The Commonwealth—Its Strength and Importance (*Echoes*, no. 218, spring, 1955, 41-3).

VINCE, DONALD M. A. R. Development in the Legal Status of the Canadian Military Forces, 1914-19, as Related to Dominion Status (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XX (3), Aug., 1954, 357-70).

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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ANGLIN, DOUGLAS G. The Canadian Post-War Contribution to International Assistance (*International Journal*, IX (4), autumn, 1954, 264-74).

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- Canada: Trends in External Policy (*Round Table*, no. 178, March, 1955, 179-86). A discussion of Canada's external relations in the post-war world, centring on relations within the Commonwealth, relations with the United States, and external trade.
- GREENING, W. E. Trouble along American-Canadian Boundary (*Fortnightly*, CLXXV (3), new series, March, 1954, 160-5). A discussion of friction between Canada and the United States, 1952-3.
- HANCE, SIR BENNETT. Medicine and the Colombo Plan (*United Empire*, XLVI (1), Jan.-Feb., 1955, 3-7). An account of the aims and achievements of the Colombo Plan in matters of health.
- KNOX, FRANK A. Canadian Trade Strategy (*International Journal*, IX (4), autumn, 1954, 275-81). Canadian commercial policy against the background of the nineteenth-century trading system.
- PEARSON, LESTER B. Some Thoughts on Canadian External Relations (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1954, 69-76).
- SLATER, DAVID W. Changes in the Structure of Canada's International Trade (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XXI (1), Feb., 1955, 1-19). A study dealing with the period 1896-1950.
- STEWART, MILLER. *Iron in World Affairs*. Behind the Headlines, XIV (6). Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs. March, 1955. Pp. 16. 20c. A discussion centring on the iron industry of Canada.
- UTLEY, T. E. The Commonwealth and Europe (*Fortnightly*, CLXXVI (1), new series, July, 1954, 3-7). Political problems involving Europe and the Commonwealth.

III. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

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- Canadian Historical Association. *Report of the Annual Meeting Held at Winnipeg, June 2-5, 1954, with Historical Papers*. Edited by P. G. CORNELL, Rev. A. POULIOT, S.J., and J. S. MOIR. Ottawa: The Association. 1955. Pp. iv, 104. Free to members. Papers are listed separately in this bibliography.
- CARELESS, J. M. S. Canadian Nationalism—Immature or Obsolete? (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1954, 12-19).
- HARTLAND, PENELOPE. Factors in Economic Growth in Canada (*Journal of Economic History*, XV (1), 1955, 13-22). A discussion of two periods of rapid economic growth in Canada, the 1850's and the period 1900-14.
- LONG, M. H. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1954, 1-11).
- LOVE, JOHN R. Ventures and Adventures in Canadian Enterprise (*Monetary Times*, CXXIII (3), March, 1955, 26-7, 77). Brief historical notes on several long-established Canadian firms: Dominion Rubber Company, Salada Tea Company, Shirriff's Limited, and Bovril (Canada) Limited.
- MONTREUIL, ANNA B. *Three Came with Gifts: The Story of the First Hospital, the First School and the First Cloister in Canada and Their Heroic Founders*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1955. Pp. 60, illus. \$3.50. To be reviewed later.
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- ROWAT, DONALD C. *Your Local Government: A Sketch of the Municipal System in Canada*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1955. Pp. xii, 148. \$2.50.

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- STACEY, C. P., ed. *Introduction to the Study of Military History for Canadian Scholars*. Fourth edition, enlarged and revised. Ottawa: Directorate of Military Training, Army Headquarters; Queen's Printer. 1955. Pp. vi, 152. 50c. "This 4th edition contains two episodes not included in the 3rd ('The North-West Campaign' and 'The Battle of the Scheldt'); it also covers the end of the Korean War and is generally revised."
- TOUCAS, GÉRARD. La Langue française au Canada: illusions et réalités (*French Review*, XXVIII (2), Dec., 1954, 160-5).

(2) Discovery and Exploration

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- GODFREY, WILLIAM S. Vikings in America: Theories and Evidence (*American Anthropologist*, LVII (1, part 1), Feb., 1955, 35-43).
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- PATTERSON, R. M. Liard River Voyage (*Beaver*, outfit 285, spring, 1955, 20-6). Account of a trip by water in northern British Columbia and the Northwest Territories in September, 1954, with brief historical notes on early exploration of the Liard.
- WHEAT, CARL I. Mapping the American West, 1540-1857 (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, LXIV (1), 1954, 19-194). Chapter III, "The Search for the Western Sea, 1540-1840," pp. 46-63, includes a discussion of the contribution of the French explorers and of members of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies.
- WILSON, CLIFFORD. Across the Prairies Two Centuries Ago (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1954, 28-35). The journey of Anthony Henday of the Hudson's Bay Company, from York Factory to the plains beyond the forks of the Saskatchewan.

(3) New France

- ALCOCK, F. J. The Long Sault of the Ottawa (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLV (6), Dec., 1952, 252-61). An article dealing largely with evidence relating to the Dollard battle, 1660.
- BIRD, WILL R. *Done at Grand Pré*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 179, illus. \$4.00. To be reviewed later.
- BONNAULT, CLAUDE DE. Les Saint Germain au Canada (*Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française*, VI (4), oct. 1954, 155-63). Citizens of Saint Germain, France, including Frontenac, who made their mark in New France.
- ECCLES, W. J. The Background of Louis Buade, Comte de Frontenac (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1954, 20-7).

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- MCCULLY, BRUCE T. Catastrophe in the Wilderness: New Light on the Canadian Expedition of 1709 (*William and Mary Quarterly*, XI (3), third series, July, 1954, 441-56). A report dated August 16, 1709, and probably compiled by Robert Livingston, Secretary of Indian Affairs of the Province of New York, sheds new light on the failure of a projected inland expedition against Canada.
- PARKMAN, FRANCIS. *The Parkman Reader: From the Works of Francis Parkman*. Selected and edited with an introduction and notes by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Illustrated with maps. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company. 1955. Pp. xviii, 533. \$6.75. To be reviewed later.
- SÉGUIN, ROBERT-LIONEL. Le Comportement de certains habitants de Lachine aux environs de 1689 (*B.R.H.*, LX (4), oct.-nov.-déc. 1954, 187-93). Discussion of circumstances surrounding the massacre at Lachine, August 5, 1689.

(4) British North America before 1867

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- BELLASIS, M. "Rise, Canadians!" Montreal: Palm Publishers. 1955. Pp. xvi, 271. \$4.25. To be reviewed later.
- DÉRÔME, GASTON. Vétérans de la guerre de 1812-1815 (*B.R.H.*, LX (4), oct.-nov.-déc. 1954, 185-8). A list of veterans, giving their home, age, and battalion.
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- LEFROY, JOHN HENRY. *In Search of the Magnetic North: A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-1844*. Edited by GEORGE F. G. STANLEY. Pioneer Books. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1955. Pp. xxx, 171, illus., maps. \$3.50. To be reviewed later.
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(5) Canada since 1867

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- HAHN, JAMES E. *For Action: The Autobiography of a Canadian Industrialist*. Toronto: Clark, Irwin & Company Limited. 1954. Pp. xii, 305, illus. \$3.50. To be reviewed later.
- HORNICK, JAMES. Canada's Flying Horsemen (*Imperial Oil Review*, XXXIX (2), April, 1955, 10-13). An account of the Air Division of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
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IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

- CREIGHTON, NORMAN. The Port That Sighs for Sail (*Maclean's*, LXVIII (6), March 19, 1955, 28-9, 64, 66-8, 70). An account of Yarmouth, N.S.
- MACBEATH, GEORGE B. *The Story of the Restigouche, Covering the Indian, French, and English Periods of the Restigouche Area*. Publications of the New Brunswick Museum, Historical Studies, no. 8. Saint John, N.B. 1954. Pp. ii, 25, map, illus.
- RYAN, SAMUEL J. Burlington (*Atlantic Guardian*, XII (1), Jan., 1955, 5-8). A Newfoundland fishing and logging settlement whose history goes back to 1850.
- SCLANDERS, IAN. The Lively Ghosts of Chignecto (*Maclean's*, LXVI (20), Oct. 15, 1953, 18-19, 108-10). History and legend connected with Chignecto Isthmus.

(2) The Province of Quebec

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- DROLET, JEAN-PAUL. Le Domaine minier de la province de Québec: Revue des progrès réalisés au cours des dernières années (*Culture*, XV (4), déc. 1954, 404-25).
- LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. Jean-Moïse Raymond (1787-1843), premier député de Laprairie (1824-1838), natif du comté (*B.R.H.*, LX (3), juillet-août-sept. 1954, 109-20).
- MAHEUX, ARTHUR. Un Marchand de Québec: William Price (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, IX (8), avril 1955, 717-22). Biography of the founder of the firm of Price Brothers, who emigrated to Canada in 1810.
- MALOUIN, REINE. *La Seigneurie Notre-Dame des Anges*. Cahiers d'Histoire, no 7. Québec: La Société historique de Québec, Université Laval. 1955. Pp. 40, illus. 50c.
- ROSS, AILEEN D. French and English Canadian Contacts and Institutional Change (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XX (3), Aug., 1954, 281-95). A study of the Eastern Townships of Quebec.
- ZUBROWSKI, LUDWIK KOS RABCEWICZ. Alexandre-Edouard Kierzkowski, patriote polonais, réfugié au Canada (1816-1870), (*B.R.H.*, LX (4), oct.-nov.-déc. 1954, 175-80). The life of a Polish exile who emigrated to Lower Canada in 1842 and took an active part in Canadian politics.

(3) The Province of Ontario

- ARMYTAGE, W. H. C. Thomas Talbot and Lord Wharncliffe: Some New Letters Hitherto Unpublished (*Ontario History*, XLV (4), autumn, 1953, 177-97). Letters of Talbot written to a friend in England, mainly in the 1820's.
- BROWN, ANDREW H. Ontario, Pivot of Canada's Power (*National Geographic*, CIV (6), Dec., 1953, 824-52).
- BROWN, L. CARSON. Ontario's Mineral Heritage (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, L (3), March, 1955, 84-103). An article which includes an account of the history of Ontario mining.
- CRONIN, FERCUS. North America's Father of Oil (*Imperial Oil Review*, XXXIX (2), April, 1955, 16-20). The life of James Miller Williams of Hamilton, Ontario, one of the founders of the village of Oil Springs, Ontario, and founder of the first commercially successful oil well and the first oil refinery in Canada.
- HOME, RUTH M. Path Masters and Pound Keepers (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLV (5), Nov., 1952, 196-9). Notes on the register of Louth Township, County of Lincoln in the Niagara district of Upper Canada, 1793-1842.
- MACDONALD, JOHN SANDFIELD. A Diary of 1837; with introduction and notes by GEORGE W. SPRAGGE (*Ontario History*, XLVII (1), winter, 1955, 1-11). John Sandfield Macdonald's account of his experiences as clerk to Judge Archibald McLean on the Western Circuit of Upper Canada.
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- WILLIAMS, W. R. The Gale-Shattered *Waubuno* (*Inland Seas*, XI (1), spring, 1955, 52-5). A Georgian Bay disaster of 1879.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

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- BROWN, ALICE E. Early Days in Souris and Glenwood (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Papers*, series III, no. 10, 1955, 30-46).
- BUSSARD, LAWRENCE H. The Establishment of Fort Calgary (*Alberta Historical Review*, III (1), winter, 1955, 34-41).
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- COATES, RAY. To the Golden West: Part I, 1903; Part II, 1904-08 (*Saskatchewan History*, VII (3), autumn, 1954, 104-9; VIII (1), winter, 1955, 17-21). Recollections of a pioneer settler.
- DEMPSEY, HUGH A., ed. *Ponoka*. Ponoka, Alberta: Herald Printing Company. 1954. Pp. 93, illus. An account of the early history of the area from 1800 to 1899, the history of the local school districts, and brief biographies of early settlers.
- DRAKE, EARL. Regina 1882-1955 (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, L (1), Jan., 1955, 2-17).
- FINLAY, R. E. An Historical Sketch of Vegreville, 1901-1902 (*Alberta Historical Review*, III (1), winter, 1955, 16-23). An account of an Alberta settlement.
- GEREIN, FRANK. *History of Odessa*. Regina: Western Printers. 1954. Pp. 68, illus. \$1.50. Distributed by Rev. Frank Gerein, Odessa, Sask. A history commemorating the founding of Odessa in 1901, and the founding of the Holy Family Parish ten years later.
- GERSHAW, F. W. *History of Fort Walsh*. Medicine Hat, Alberta: The author. 1954. Pp. 10.
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- HAMILTON, ZACHARY MACCAULAY, and HAMILTON, MARIE ALBINA. *These are the Prairies*. Regina, Toronto: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co. Ltd. 1954. Pp. 277, illus., maps. \$3.00. Recollections of Saskatchewan life covering the period 1882-1905.
- Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. *Papers*. Series III, no. 10. Edited by PAUL YUZYK. Winnipeg. 1955. Pp. 63. Papers are listed separately in this bibliography.
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- MACDONALD, GEORGE HEATH. *Fort Augustus-Edmonton, Northwest Trails and Traffic*. Edmonton: Douglas Printing Company. 1954. Pp. 255, illus., maps. An account of Fort Edmonton from the year 1795, when the first post was built, to 1915.
- MAW, MARGARET. *Meet Southern Alberta*. Edited by W. E. Ross. Calgary: Southern Alberta Pioneers and Old Timers Association Memorial Building Fund, 232-8th Ave. E. 1954. Pp. 100. \$1.00.
- OLIVER, FRANK. The Indian Drum: An Incident in the Rebellion of 1885 (*Alberta Historical Review*, III (1), winter, 1955, 3-15). The events of the Rebellion in the Edmonton country.
- RUST, R. S. Rolling Hills: Product of Irrigation (*Country Guide*, March, 1955, 50). The development of the Rolling Hills community in Alberta, founded in 1939.
- SWANSON, MRS. J. A. Winnipeg (*Echoes*, no. 218, spring, 1955, 4-5).
- TOWNLEY-SMITH, F. W. A Load of Lumber (*Country Guide*, March, 1955, 13, 42). A Barr colonist recalls a trip to Fort Pitt, Alberta, in 1903.

(5) The Province of British Columbia

- JORDAN, MABEL E. H.M.C. Dockyard, Esquimalt (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, L (4), April, 1955, 124-32). A review of some of the more important events in the history of the naval base at Esquimalt, B.C.
- Okanagan Historical Society. *Eighteenth Report*, 1954. [Kelowna, B.C. 1955.] Pp. 176. This *Report* contains a number of articles dealing with many aspects of the history of Kelowna, B.C., and an outline history of Similkameen by J. C. GOODFELLOW.
- PORTER, MCKENZIE. The Last Stronghold of the Longstockings (*Maclean's*, LXVIII (7), April 2, 1955, 30-1, 77, 79-81). The settlers of Duncan and other communities in the Cowichan Valley of Vancouver Island included a number of retired British officers and their families, many of them members of the English aristocracy.

IX. ARTS AND SCIENCES

(1) Literature, Art, and Music

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- BARBEAU, MARIUS. How the Folk Songs of French Canada Were Discovered (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIX (2), Aug., 1954, 58-65).
- BMI Canada Limited. *Canadian Music at Carnegie Hall: A Report*. Toronto. 1954. Pp. 16. Free. Excerpts from newspapers and magazines on the concert of Canadian music held at Carnegie Hall, New York, Oct. 16, 1953.
- BOURINOT, ARTHUR. A Neglected Field in Canadian Letters (*Canadian Forum*, XXXIV (407), Dec., 1954, 198-9). The author discusses the possibility of publishing the correspondence of Canadian authors.
- BRUCHÉSI, JEAN... Le Journal de François Baillairgé (*Cahiers des Dix*, no 19, 1954, 111-27). A discussion of the career of the painter and sculptor, François Baillairgé, in the light of his Journal covering the years 1784-1800.
- Canada, National Gallery. A. Y. Jackson, *Paintings, 1902-1953*. Ottawa. 1953. Pp. 32, 8 plates, 50c. Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Art Gallery of Toronto, Oct.-Nov., 1953, and at the National Gallery of Canada, Dec., 1953-Jan., 1954.
- Canadian Poetry in English*. Chosen by BLISS CARMAN, LORNE PIERCE, and V. B. RHODENIZER. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1954. Pp. xxxvi, 456. \$6.00. Revised and enlarged edition of an anthology first published in 1922.

- DASSONVILLE, MICHEL. Crémazie, le romantisme et nous (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, IX (3), nov. 1954, 210-21). An estimate of the place in French-Canadian letters of Joseph-Octave Crémazie (1827-79).
- DES ORMES, RENÉE. Glanures dans les papiers pâlis de Laure Conan (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, IX (2), oct. 1954, 120-35). Biographical notes and excerpts from the letters of the Canadian novelist.
- DUDEK, LOUIS. The State of Canadian Poetry: 1954 (*Canadian Forum*, XXXIV (405), Oct., 1954, 153-5).
- GUTTENBERG, A. CH. DE. William Kirby (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, VII (4), déc. 1954, 337-45). A discussion of the novel *The Golden Dog* (1877), and of its relation to actual events in New France; with notes on the life and other works of the author.
- HARPER, J. RUSSELL. The Theatre in Saint John, 1789-1817 (*Dalhousie Review*, XXXIV (3), autumn, 1954, 260-9).
- JOHNSTON, GEORGE. Carl Schaefer: Artist and Man (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXI (3), autumn, 1954, 345-52).
- MACDONALD, DAVID. Sam Slick Slept Here (*Maclean's*, LXVII (13), July 1, 1954, 22-3, 30, 35-6). A discussion of the work of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, and of the background of his stories.
- MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *Littérateurs et moralistes du Canada français d'autrefois*. Les Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois, VIII. Hull: Les Editions l'Eclair; Ottawa: Editions de l'Université. 1954. Pp. 191. \$2.50. See *C.H.R.*, March, 1955, p. 71.
- MIKES, GEORGE. *Eight Humorists*. With drawings by DAVID LONDON. London: Wingate. 1954. Pp. 175. "Stephen Leacock," pp. 41-65.
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. L'Orfèvre Paul Morand, 1784-1854 (*Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, XLVIII, 3e série, 1954, Section I, 29-35). The work of a Montreal silversmith of the early nineteenth century.
- PACEY, DESMOND. English-Canadian Poetry, 1944-1954 (*Culture*, XV (3), sept. 1954, 254-65).
- PRATLEY, GERALD. Our Lively Arts: 5, Film in Canada (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXI (4), winter, 1955, 444-54).
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NOTES AND COMMENTS

ALBERTA'S GOLDEN JUBILEE

The *Alberta Historical Review*, vol. II, no. 4, describes some of the arrangements made for the observance of the province's fiftieth anniversary this year. These include the building of large auditoriums in Edmonton and Calgary, the issuing of a Golden Jubilee Anthology of Alberta writers, and a booklet of maps, colour plates, and facts on the province. Local celebrations are also being held. One must observe, however, on the basis of the information received, that Alberta in its plans has evidently paid less attention than Saskatchewan—which also celebrates its jubilee this year—to the marking of historic sites and the stimulation of public interest in the history of the province.

ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

The *Banff Laxton Museum* is described in the Alberta government publication *Within Our Borders* as the finest and newest historical museum in the province, containing as it does an outstanding collection of western Indian clothing, weapons, equipment, and artifacts. This private institution has been financed through a small group of Alberta citizens, who deserve much credit for their interest.

The *Annual Report of the New Brunswick Museum* for 1953 notes the accession of Hubbard, Odell, and other family papers, the filling of gaps in collections through the microfilming of local material in other institutions, and the completion of the cataloguing of the Webster Library, which is particularly rich in Seven Years' War material.

The *Annual Report of the Nova Scotia Archives* for 1953 prints four previously unknown letters of Joseph Howe, written between 1863 and 1865, which among other things describe his tour of scenes of the American Civil War, a month after its conclusion.

The *Toronto Public Library* has recently issued a new *Guide* to its manuscript collection which includes over 450 entries. Important additions to this collection over the past four years are: the Peter Russell papers, the Denison family papers, Sir George Prevost's official correspondence during the War of 1812, and the business papers of the famous old Toronto grocery firm, Michie and Co.

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